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V

The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present

An Annotated English Translation
of the Tibetan Version
of the
Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra
with
Several Appendices
relating to
the History of the Text

Paul Harrison

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The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present

To the memory of my father

Maxwell Walter Harrison

24.12.1919–12.5.1989

Preface

The human obsession with origins and beginnings is at the same time one of the proper concerns of the academic study of religion and one of its own modes of discourse. In Buddhist Studies this is exemplified above all by efforts to trace the inception and early development of the Mahāyāna, a movement which, for a variety of reasons, has commonly been held to pose particular problems of understanding for historians of religion. While some of these problems have in the light of more recent research turned out to be non-problems, the early Mahāyāna continues to intrigue Buddhist scholars. The present work is a response to its fascination, and is conceived as part of a broader endeavour to throw some light on the area by using a body of material which has so far received little attention. It has long been my intention to carry out a complete study of the first Chinese versions of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, a small number of less than a dozen works from the hands of the Indo-scythian translator Lokakṣema and his school, active in the Chinese capital of Luoyang ca. 170-190 C.E. These archaic translations, constituting as they do the earliest dateable literary evidence for the Mahāyāna, cry out to be studied, since they are likely to throw considerable light on its early development, as well as on the beginnings of Chinese Buddhism, thus illuminating the origins of two historical movements at one and the same time.

The critical study of Lokakṣema's works must begin with the authentication of those translations currently attributed to him, the touchstone for this operation being that work which is definitely his, viz. his rendering of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, which can be used to determine the distinguishing characteristics of his style. This reduces the corpus to nine works. The next step is to understand the texts, not at all an easy task, given the fact that the original obscurities of these works have been compounded by the vagaries of centuries of scribal transmission. For this purpose one must naturally press into service the most intelligible surviving versions of the *sūtras* in question, in effect the Tibetan translations, since for all Lokakṣema's works except two the Sanskrit has been lost. In most cases it would be useful to translate into English the later Tibetan (or Chinese) versions, which would have the side-effect of broadening the textual basis of current studies of the

Mahāyāna, still very much overshadowed by the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*. Having determined Lokakṣema's total *oeuvre* and rendered it accessible and comprehensible, one must then proceed to an analysis of its contents, and here many questions suggest themselves, for the *sūtras* are not only repositories of Buddhist doctrine and philosophy, albeit in unsystematised form: they are also mines of information on Buddhist practice and Buddhist society, reflecting many aspects of the cultural *milieu* in which they were composed. Moreover, they are also **texts**, i.e. works of literature in their own right, following formal rules and conventions of considerable interest.

Such was the original conception of my 'Lokakṣema Project'. For various reasons only a few preliminary findings from this project have been published so far (see Bibliography for details), but it is already abundantly clear that the study of these archaic translations yields a great deal of interesting information on the early development of the Mahāyāna. Further, by looking at differences between Lokakṣema's renditions and later versions of the same texts, and by isolating elements which persistently reveal themselves as later accretions, we are able to make some progress towards identifying processes of development and evolution in what is at present a largely disembodied and ahistorical collection of ideas and practices. In addition, the linguistic aspects of the texts are far from insignificant, as Zürcher pointed out in his pioneering studies of them (see Zürcher 1975 & 1977); not only do they preserve grammatical features of the spoken language of late 2nd-century China, but they also bristle with phonetic transcriptions which enable us to venture reconstructions of the pronunciation of ancient Chinese and of the Indic language (perhaps some form of 'Gāndhārī') in which the original *sūtras* were written.

The present work, then, is the first full-length monograph to emerge from this project. It consists principally of an annotated English translation of the Tibetan version of the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra* (hereafter abbreviated *PraS* or referred to as 'the *sūtra*'), which was first translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in 179 C.E. Although Lokakṣema's version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is often referred to as 'the oldest Mahāyāna *sūtra*', it must at least share this honour with the *PraS*, since it is recorded that the two texts were translated, or more probably 'published', on the same day. Also the *PraS* is the only other *sūtra* apart from the *Aṣṭa* of which a translation is unhesitatingly ascribed to Lokakṣema by Dao'an, earliest and most reliable of the Chinese Buddhist bibliographers. It must therefore

occupy a key position in any study of the Indo-scythian master's *oeuvre*. Apart from one small Central Asian fragment (for which see Appendix B), the Sanskrit text of the *PraS* has been lost, hence the decision to make the substance of the *sūtra* accessible to a wider public through a translation of the Tibetan version. In addition, the text of the *PraS* and the meditation technique it describes have had a long and interesting history, and it is this which is the focus of the Introduction and the Appendices which accompany the translation.

This book began life as a doctoral dissertation in Canberra, Australia, during the years 1976-1979, when I worked as a Ph.D. student under Jan Willem de Jong and Tissa Rajapatirana in the Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies at Australian National University. It was J.W. de Jong who first drew my attention to the works of Lokakṣema and to the *PraS*, and I owe him a great debt of gratitude for that and for his erudite and painstaking supervision throughout my years of apprenticeship. Tissa Rajapatirana was also an unfailing source of helpful advice and encouragement, a true *kalyānamitra* during that time. The third person most closely involved in my early work on the *PraS* was Gregory Schopen, currently of the University of Indiana, whose term as a Ph.D. student at A.N.U. largely co-incided with mine. With characteristic liberality Greg not only taught me a number of basic skills (such as how to read Tibetan), but also shared a wealth of stimulating ideas on all aspects of Buddhist studies, providing me with copious amounts of advice and encouragement, all couched in the irreverent and folksy backwoods idiom which is his trademark. His friendship was instrumental in making my time at A.N.U. both productive and enjoyable.

My thanks go also to others at A.N.U. who assisted at the beginnings of this project, firstly to Luise Hercus-Schwarzschild and Betty Kat, who in their different ways smiled upon my early endeavours, and then to numerous people who gave advice or answered my queries, among them John Minford, Liu Ts'un-yan, Rafe de Crespigny, Igor de Rachewiltz, Ken Gardiner, Tso Sse-bong, and Matsumura Hisashi. On the home front Juliet Nicholas provided many years of unstinting friendship and encouragement; to her I owe by far the greatest debt of gratitude. Fujita Kōtatsu also gave me the benefit of his advice, as did the examiners of the completed dissertation, Jacques May, Takasaki Jikidō and Yuyama Akira, all of whom proferred valuable suggestions and recommended publication. That was in 1980. In the intervening years the work has mostly 'lain fallow', due to more pressing commitments elsewhere,

but even so I have continued to profit from the generous advice of a number of colleagues, above all Lambert Schmithausen and Yuyama Akira, the ever patient editor of this series; to these two goes a special vote of thanks. Most recently, throughout the 'last push', Averil Donovan has provided affectionate support and borne my absences with her characteristic good humour, for which I thank her.

It goes without saying that, despite all the assistance I have received from the colleagues and friends named above, the responsibility for any errors and solecisms that remain is entirely my own. Indeed, I am acutely aware that a work such as this is bound to be imperfect: the translation of Mahāyāna *sūtras* is a difficult business, not simply on account of the philological complexities of the task, but because we barely understand the genre itself. The challenge which these texts offer to our powers of understanding is certainly considerable, and their difficulty may be seen as an insuperable barrier. However, if we are equal to that challenge, there is no doubt that the barrier becomes a gateway, through which we are afforded new vistas on the human spirit.

Paul Harrison
18 May 1990

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Introduction

I. TEXTUAL SURVEY

As is well known, the Buddhist movement which bore the name 'Mahāyāna' generated over many centuries an enormous amount of literature for which it claimed canonical status; however, much of this has since vanished in its original form, and survives only in later Chinese and Tibetan translations. The *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*, one of the first Mahāyāna *sūtras* to be rendered into Chinese, falls into this category: the complete Sanskrit text is no longer extant, but the *sūtra* is accessible, either in part or in its entirety, in the following secondary versions:

1. The Tibetan translation, made--or at least revised--*circa* 800 C.E. by Śākyaprabha and Ratnarakṣita, and entitled *'Phags pa da ltar gyi sangs rgyas mngon sum du bzhugs pa'i ting nge 'dzin ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (= *Ārya-pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*). It is to be found in the various editions of the Tibetan Kanjur (*Bka'-'gyur*), e.g.

   Derge (Sde dge) Mdo Na 1-70b2
   Narthang (Snar thang) Mdo Tha 1-115a6
   Peking Mdo Du 1-73a5
   Lhasa (Lha sa) Mdo Tha 1-106b4
   Stog Palace Mdo Ma 296a1-403b6

   A 'critical' edition[1] of this Tibetan translation, based on the first four Kanjur versions listed above, appears in Harrison (1978b), hereafter referred to as *Text*.[2]

2. T.416: *Dafangdeng daji-jing xianhu-fen*[3] 大方等大集經賢護分 (=

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[1] On the shortcomings of the method used to construct this supposedly critical edition, see Harrison: forthcoming (c). Appendix C contains an extensive list of emendations to this text incorporating the results of the collation of the Stog Palace Kanjur, which was not available to me in 1978.

[2] Note that in the present work the system of transcription adopted for Tibetan (the one proposed by Turrell Wylie (1959), with several minor modifications) differs from the one originally used in *Text*.

[3] Note that throughout this work the *pinyin* system of transcription is used

Mahāvaipulya-mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra-bhadrapāla-parivarta) in five *juan* (*Taishō* Vol. XIII, pp. 872a-897c), translated by Jñānagupta *et al.* in 595 C.E.

3. T.417: *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 (= *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*) in one *juan* (*ibid.* pp. 897c-902c), falsely attributed to Lokakṣema. As this is a secondary abridgement of Redaction B of the following version, it is generally not referred to in the notes to the translation. See below, Appendix A, Section VI.
4. T.418: *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 (= *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*) in three *juan* (*ibid.* pp. 902c-919c), to be ascribed to Lokakṣema with certain reservations. Two redactions exist: Redaction A, which is partial only, and is found in the Korean edition of the Chinese canon, and Redaction B, which is complete, and is found both in the 'Three Editions' and (in part only) in the Korean edition. The complicated relationship between these two redactions is discussed below in Appendix A, Sections IV-V.
5. T.419: *Bapo pusa jing* 拔陂菩薩經 (= *Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra*) in one *juan* (*ibid.* pp. 920a924b). Anonymous, possibly Later Han or soon after, i.e. 3rd century C.E. Partial translation only. For a description, see Appendix A, Section III.
6. The Sanskrit fragment: Hoernle MS., No. 143, S.A. 3, probably found on the site of Khadalik in Central Asia at the turn of the century and now in the possession of the India Office Library, London. Edited by F.W. Thomas and published as the 'Bhadrapāla Sūtra' in Hoernle 1916: 88-93 (see also Addenda, pp. 410-411). Appendix B below contains a new edition, translation and study of this fragment.
7. The Mongolian version, entitled *Qutug-tu edüged-ün burqan iledde sagugsan samadi kemegdeküi yeke kölgen sudur*, appearing as No. 890 in the Mongolian Kanjur, Vol. 72 (Sūtra 13), 1-94a (see Ligeti 1942-44: 234). This version was made on the basis of the Tibetan translation. Although it would conceivably assist in understanding the Tibetan text, I have been unable to consult it.
8. A Japanese translation of T.418 (title transcribed as *Hanjuzanmaigyō*) appears in *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 255-318. The translation, by Mochizuki Shinkō, is in the old style, i.e. *kundoku*.

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for Chinese.

9. A Japanese translation of T.417 appears in Sakurabe 1975b: 47-71, accompanied by an edition of the Chinese text, pp. 73-98. This translation is also in the *kundoku* style.
10. An English translation of T.418 is due to appear in the *English Translation of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* to be published under the auspices of the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, Japan; see Harrison: forthcoming (b).

II. THE CONTENT AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *PraS*

The *PraS* resembles the general run of Mahāyāna *sūtras* in being anonymous and of uncertain date. As is customary, it uses the traditional opening formula *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, etc., to establish itself as the authentic word of the Buddha as relayed through the prodigious memory of Ānanda. In the body of the text, however, this standard claim to canonical authenticity is supplemented by an additional (possibly contradictory?)[4] claim, namely, that Śākyamuni entrusts the *sūtra* to a faithful core of five hundred followers headed by eight lay *bodhisattvas* lead by Bhadrapāla (see Chap. 13). These five hundred stalwarts undertake to ensure that the *sūtra* **re-appears** and is propagated in the world during the 'last five hundred years', a reference which probably places the composition of the *PraS* in the first century C.E. at the earliest.[5] Since the text was first translated into Chinese in 179 C.E., we can tentatively date it to sometime between then and the beginning of the Common Era; it is impossible to be more precise.[6]

The action of the *sūtra* takes place at the Veṇuvana in Rājagṛha during the reign of Ajātaśatru: the *PraS* is thus represented as a teaching delivered during the latter part of the Buddha's ministry. In an earlier article (Harrison 1978a) I have dealt with the content of that teaching, analysing the principal

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4 Note that the earliest Chinese version of the text (Redaction A of T.418) does not have any equivalent for *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye* (see Appendix A).

5 This is an interesting adumbration, incidentally, of the later Tibetan *gter ma* tradition. One notes the similarity of the legend relating to Nāgārjuna's reception of the Perfection of Wisdom texts.

6 For a good general discussion of the beginnings of the Mahāyāna movement and the composition of its *sūtras* see Williams 1989: 1-33.

ideas and practices featured in the text, and relating them to some of the key themes of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. As its title suggests, the *PraS* propounds a special meditation or visualisation technique known as the *pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi*, which may be translated as 'the *samādhi* (meditative concentration) of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present'.[7] This technique is in fact a developed Mahāyānist form of *buddhānusmṛti*, and supposedly gives the practitioner immediate access to the manifold Buddhas of other world-systems and to their teachings, but it is propounded in such a way as to undercut any naively materialist or realist view of the cosmology in which this takes place or of the relationships which are engendered. Thus, while the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* has an obvious affinity with what we now know as 'Pure Land' Buddhist practices, the Prajñāpāramitā flavour of its presentation is a far cry from the spirit of, say, the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* or other standard Pure Land scriptures. For a detailed discussion of these questions readers are referred to the aforementioned article; however, it might be helpful to raise a few salient points here.

One ought to note, first of all, that in the *PraS* the Mahāyāna appears as a fully-developed movement, and as a set of concepts needing no special justification or defence; and this in what is supposed to be one of the earliest Mahāyāna *sūtras*! Although the *sūtra* devotes little energy to criticising the old dispensation (i.e. the so-called 'Hīnayāna', a term which--significantly--is completely absent, although other less pejorative designations do occur),[8] what it is at pains to get across to its readers and hearers is the same attitude to phenomena that we find emphasised in the Prajñāpāramitā literature--namely, that all phenomena, or rather all dharmas ('principles', 'realities', the basic factors of which phenomena are constituted) are empty (*śūnya*), that is, devoid of essence, independent existence or 'own-being' (*svabhāva*). Since this is so, there is nothing which can provide a basis for 'apprehension' or 'objectification' (*upalambha*), by which term is intended that process of the mind which seizes on the objects of experience as entities or existing things (*bhāva*), and regards them as possessing an independent and objective reality. The perception or

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7 Hereafter referred to as the *pratyutpanna-samādhi*, or simply as 'the *samādhi*'.

8 On this point see Harrison 1987, esp. pp. 80-85. As a general term of convenience for non-Mahāyāna Buddhism I now prefer the expression 'Mainstream Buddhism'.

apperception of existing things (*bhāva-saṃjñā*) is thus seen as the gravest of errors, in that it leads us to fixate on, and become attached to that which, as a mere construct of our own minds, should not form the basis of any sort of attachment whatsoever. And from this attachment springs all the suffering which characterises the existence of unawakened beings.

This emphasis on the emptiness or the unreality of all dharmas (sometimes referred to as the doctrine of *dharma-nairātmya*, literally the 'selflessness of dharmas') is one of the principal thrusts of the Prajñāpāramitā, and of the Mahāyāna in general, and is often held to have been a reaction against the Abhidharma theories of the powerful Mainstream Sarvāstivādin school. Unlike the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (hereafter abbreviated: *Aṣṭa*), nowadays believed to represent the earliest form of the Prajñāpāramitā, which tends to articulate the theory of emptiness or *śūnyatā* as a received truth, as something which needs only to be stated, not proved or demonstrated, the *PraS* approaches the question from the point of view of meditation experience. It first underlines the fundamental unreality of the entities experienced during the *samādhi* by comparing them with those things perceived in dreams or in the course of the 'meditation on the repulsive' (*aśubha-bhāvanā*, here understood as a purely imaginary exercise), and then--often without any shift of focus being made explicit--proceeds to emphasise the emptiness of **all dharmas**, which supposedly constitute the basis of our experience in the waking state. The process, then, could be described as one of analogical extension or generalisation, in which meditative discipline fosters an awareness of the emptiness of appearances which extends to all phenomena. In this regard we should note the important place occupied in our *sūtra* by the four 'applications of mindfulness' (*smṛtyupasthāna*; see Chaps. 15 & 18), which suggests that, within the framework of Mahāyāna meditation, this traditional discipline played a key role in the actual development of the understanding that all dharmas are empty.[9] One might also point out that this process of generalisation, when pushed to its logical conclusion, brings us to the so-called 'Buddhist Idealism' of the Yogācārins, i.e. the view that all appearances are purely the products of mind (*citta-mātra*), which is to be distinguished from the previous theory of emptiness, which is more in the nature of an epistemological scepticism. A trace of this 'idealist' view--in fact, one of its earliest formulations--is indeed to

[9] See especially Schmithausen 1976: 259-263 for the use of this practice by the Mahāyāna.

be found in the *PraS* (in the well-known statement of 3L, q.v.), but it is not representative of the general tenor of the text. Rather, the attitude to phenomena propounded throughout the *sūtra* is one that we might characterise as essentially Śūnyavādin, in that all its more philosophical passages are given over to arguments in favour of the understanding of emptiness; although the word 'philosophical' might lead us into error if we forget that here we are dealing with no mere exercise in sophistry, but rather a practical endeavour with a clearly defined soteriological purpose.

Turning now from these more general considerations, it is perhaps from this view of the equal nature of all phenomena, in whatever state they may occur, that the *PraS* arrives at what I believe to be one of its major concerns. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[10] one of the main aims of the *samādhi* that gives our *sūtra* its title is to provide practitioners with the means to translate themselves into the presence of this or that particular manifestation of the Buddha-principle for the purpose of hearing the Dharma, which they subsequently remember and propagate to others. This can be seen not only as a legitimation device justifying the continuing production of Mahāyāna *sūtras* (or 'dharmas hitherto unheard', in the words of the text)--and a bold one at that, insofar as it removes the necessity for strictly historical claims to authenticity--but also as an indication of the means by which at least some Mahāyāna *sūtras* were composed, i.e. as a result of meditational inspiration.[11] It is only in this light that we can make sense of the emphasis on the related concepts of *bahu-śruta / bāhu-śrutya* and *dharma-bhāṇaka* which runs throughout the *PraS*. In my translation I have rendered *mang du thos pa* (= both *bahu-śruta* and *bāhu-śrutya*) as 'greatly learned' and 'great learning', even though this does not satisfactorily convey the aural nature of the original terms or their deeper meaning. On the face of it, *bāhu-śrutya* refers to the state of 'having heard much', or more specifically, to having received a substantial amount of oral instruction from a teacher, often in the form of memorised texts; the *bahu-śruta par excellence* being of course Ānanda.[12] However, as is particularly obvious in the context of Vajrayāna Buddhism, hearing the Dharma from a realised master is not simply a matter of acquiring knowledge or information, but is held to be

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10 Harrison 1978a, esp. pp. 52-54.

11 On this question see *Traité* IV, p. 1927, n. 2.

12 See e.g. A.i.24, and *DPPN*, s.v. Ānanda.

in itself profoundly transformative and empowering as well. That this was an important element in early Mainstream Buddhism too has been convincingly demonstrated by Peter Masefield in a highly contentious study of parts of the Pāli Canon (Masefield 1986), while Tambiah (1970: 195-214) has shown its continuing relevance in the contemporary practice of Theravāda Buddhism. The terms *bahu-śruta* and *bāhu-śrutya* have therefore a fairly wide reference, but in the *PraS*, and possible in other Mahāyāna works as well, *bahu-śruta* ('one who has heard much', 'the greatly learned') denotes, I believe, particularly the one who has received, memorised and been transformed by Mahāyāna teachings in the context of meditation-practice;[13] that is to say, it denotes the Mahāyāna initiate. *Bahu-śruta* emphasises then the passive aspect of such a person, while the term *dharma-bhāṇaka* shifts the focus to his or her active function, i.e. as a transmitter of these teachings. *Dharma-bhāṇaka* ('preacher of the Dharma') is an expression which occurs very frequently in Mahāyāna *sūtras*, in contexts which make it clear that the Dharma that is being preached is something that is new, not generally accepted, and subject to ridicule and abuse from other supposed followers of the Buddha. References in the *PraS* to precisely this state of affairs, and its repeated injunctions to respect and follow the *dharma-bhāṇaka*, even to regard him or her with the reverence due to a Buddha, point to a period of the Mahāyāna when the new teaching's credentials were not fully established.[14]

Along with the Śūnyavādin attitude to experience and those ideas relating to the revelation and propagation of new teachings, the third main element of the content of the *PraS* is that concerned with ethics. Much space is devoted to prescriptions for correct behaviour, with attention being given to the differing requirements of monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen. In fact this *sūtra*, like certain others (e.g. the *Ugra-paripṛcchā*) is noteworthy for the importance it

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13 Cf. Rawlinson 1986 for a highly contentious but stimulating discussion of the transformative experience possibly underlying this term. It is tempting in this context to consider whether the frequency of its use has anything to do with the Mahāsānghika subsect of the Bahuśrutīyas, given the close link between the Mahāsānghika group of sects and at least some strands of the emergent Mahāyāna. See e.g. Harrison 1982 and Williams 1989: 16-20, but cf. Rawlinson 1983, esp. n. 20, on the Bahuśrutīyas' possession of a 'Bodhisattva-piṭaka'. Obviously, a great deal of careful work needs to be done in this whole area before any such connections become more than pure surmise.

14 On the role of the *dharma-bhāṇaka* see Shizutani 1954 & 1957.

accords lay followers of the Dharma.[15] But at the same time 'going forth from the household life', i.e. entry into the Order as a *bhikṣu* or *bhikṣuṇī*, is also strongly emphasised, and in addition we find occasional mention of the spiritual advantages of life as a solitary recluse.[16] In these discussions of the more outward aspects of behaviour, and elsewhere in the text as well, one comes across indications of the religious practices obtaining at the time of the composition of the *PraS*: for example, the worship of *stūpas*,[17] the cult of Amitābha,[18] the making of images of the Buddha, and the enshrinement of sacred writings.[19] All these aspects of Buddhist practice appear even in the earliest form of the text (i.e. Lokakṣema's translation), and reveal the *PraS* as a rich mine of information on the Mahāyāna in what I would call its 'early middle' phase.

The *PraS* is, of course, primarily a *samādhi-sūtra*, and as such belongs to that large group of Mahāyāna *sūtras* which purport to deal with various aspects of meditation-practice.[20] Our *sūtra* is perhaps one of the oldest surviving examples of this genre, but despite its venerability there is no hard evidence that it ever enjoyed any great popularity in India. Although the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* is mentioned by name or referred to obliquely in a number of primary

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15 In this connection see Yoshimura 1966, Schuster 1985, and Harrison 1987: 73-76.

16 The text's insistence on moral observances and the superiority of the renunciant lifestyle militates against any interpretation of the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* as some kind of 'easy practice' for laypeople; see Ōta 1983: 149-151.

17 See Hirakawa 1963, but cf. Schopen 1975 & 1987, Williams 1989: 20-23.

18 The *PraS* is well-known for containing the earliest dateable mention of the Buddha Amitābha/Amitāyus; however, because of the later history of the text in China and Japan its Pure Land aspect has often been over-emphasised. For lucid treatments of the relationship of the *PraS* to traditional Pure Land ideas and the texts which expound them, see Kagawa 1958a and Ōta 1983.

19 See Schopen 1975.

20 On the meditation-*sūtras* see in particular Akanuma 1939: 388-422. A useful discussion of 'visualisation' texts, a subcategory of meditation-*sūtras*, can be found in Pas 1977. On the amalgamation of *buddhānusmṛti* and *samādhi* characteristic of the *PraS* and of visualisation-*sūtras* in general, see Sakurabe 1976. Omaru 1984 also discusses the relationship of the visualisation-*sūtras* and the *PraS*, with particular reference to the expiation of demerit and the *Triskandhaka* formula of confession and repentance.

works, some of which are preserved in Sanskrit,[21] the *sūtra* itself is not, to the best of my knowledge, cited in any of the surviving Sanskrit scriptural anthologies or compendia such as the *Sūtra-samuccaya* attributed to Nāgārjuna,[22] the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra* ascribed to Asaṅga, or the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* of Śāntideva. The sole exception known to me is a reference to the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* in the third *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla (c. 740-795);[23] Kamalaśīla does not cite any actual passages from the *PraS*, but it is clear from what he says that he was familiar with the basic thrust of the text. While further references or citations in extant Sanskrit works may yet come to light, we are better served by several commentarial works, ostensibly of Indian origin but preserved only in Chinese, which do refer to or quote from the *PraS* at some

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21 See e.g. the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, p. 82, where we find the *bodhisattvas' samādhi* called the *pratyutpanna-sarva-buddha-saṃmukha-avasthita* listed as one of the various *samādhis* realised by the *bodhisattva* who has attained the tenth *bhūmi*. According to the *Śūraṃgama*, however, the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* is obtained by *bodhisattvas* when they reach the **eighth** *bhūmi* (see Lamotte 1965: 163).

22 Cf. Pāsādika 1982.

23 See Tucci 1971: 5. I am indebted to G. Schopen for this reference.

length. These are the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論[24] and the *Shizhu piposha lun* 十

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[24] The *Dazhidu lun* or *DZDL* (T.1509), ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva in 404 or 405, is a voluminous commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Part of it has been rendered into French by Lamotte under the title of *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse* (5 vols., 1944-1980; referred to throughout this study as *Traité*). In this massive compendium of the Mahāyāna, the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* is referred to several times, either directly as the *banzhou(ban)sanmei* 般舟(般)三昧 or indirectly as the *nianfo sanmei* 念佛三昧, i.e. the *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi*. The appearance of the *PraS*'s chief character, the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla(Batuoboluo 颰陀婆羅), also indicates that material from the *sūtra* underlies the discussion. See e.g. 86c3-4 (cf. *Traité* I, p. 245); 110b9-19 (*ibid.* pp. 425-426; refers to 3D of the *PraS*); 111a5-10, 17-19 (*ibid.* pp. 429-430; refers indirectly to 1B-G, 2A); 123c29-124a1 (*ibid.* p. 527; refers to 1Y, 3C); 185b24 (*Traité* II, p. 1023); 262a20-23 (*Traité* IV, p. 1789; here the *DZDL* also assigns the *samādhi* to the eighth *bhūmi*); 276a17-c13 (*ibid.* pp. 1926-1930; here the *DZDL* summarises much of Chap. 3 of the *PraS*); 306a15-24 (*Traité* V, pp. 2263-2277; refers to 1Y, 3C); 314a23-25 (*ibid.* pp. 2366-2369; here the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* is described as the 'father of the Buddhas', whereas *prajñā*, being their 'mother', is said to be more important); 320a10; 335b19; 416a18 (here the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* is linked with *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*).

住毘婆沙論,[25] both attributed to Nāgārjuna,[26] and a commentary on the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* commonly known as the *Jingtu lun* 淨土論 or the *Wangsheng lun* 往生論 (T.1524), attributed to Vasubandhu. Although the doubtful provenance of these works means that they cannot be used to demonstrate conclusively that the *PraS* ever enjoyed a wide following amongst Indian Mahāyānists, they do indicate that it was accorded an important place somewhere in the Buddhist world, possibly in Central Asia.[27]

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25 The *Shizhu piposha lun* or *SZPPSL* (T.1521), also ascribed to Nāgārjuna and also translated by Kumārajīva, is a 17-fascicle commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* which contains huge chunks of the *PraS* (and also much of the *Ugra-paripṛcchā*, another important early work). It first mentions the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* at 25c3-10 (where it is described as the 'father' of the Buddhas, *mahākaruṇā* being the mother in this instance); then at 54a1; in the chapter on *buddhānusmṛti* (XX) at 68c8-24, where the title of the *PraS* is explained; in the key chapter on *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi* (XXV), where much of the *PraS* is alluded to, paraphrased, or quoted directly--in particular: 3K (86b3-6), 3C (b6-15), 4A (b15-25), unidentified (b25-29), 4B (b29-c4), 4C (c4-6), 4D (c7-10), unidentified (c11-13), 16L-16P (c13-20), 16Q-U (c20-28), 11B-C (87a2-13), 9D (a13-18), 9B (a18-22), 9D (a22-b3), 9H (b3-17), 2D (b19-22), 2E (b22-26), 2F (b26-c3), 2G (c3-8), 2H (c8-13), 2I (c13-15), 7E-F (c18-88a2), 14C-I (a2-24), 23E-F (a24-b12; see also b12ff.); also at 109b7ff., and at 116a10-26 (where 5A and 9F-G are quoted).

On the place of the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* in the thought of the author of the *SZPPSL*--whoever that may have been--see Haseoka 1957: 117-133; and for a detailed analysis of the actual material from the *PraS* cited in the *SZPPSL* see Shikii 1976. Shikii found that the version of the *PraS* used by the author of the *SZPPSL* was very close to T.416, less close to T.419, and at quite some variance with the text as preserved by T.418. This confirms the tentative conclusion I arrive at in my discussion of the textual history of the *PraS* in China (see Appendix A) concerning the sequence of the Chinese translations. Much more work, however, needs to be done on the text of the *PraS* as it appears in the *DZDL* and the *SZPPSL*.

26 Note, however, Hirakawa's article on the authorship of the *SZPPSL* (1957) in which he attempts to show that it and the *DZDL* were not composed by the same person.

27 It might be pointed out here that the *PraS*, or at least Jñānagupta's version of it (T.416), forms part of the great *sūtra*-collection called the *Mahāsaṃnipāta*. It is difficult to determine what significance this fact has, since so little is known of the compilation of the *Mahāsaṃnipāta* (as is also the case with the *Ratnakūṭa*), but a Central Asian origin for these collections has been postulated. At any rate the *PraS* is certainly one of the oldest texts in the *Mahāsaṃnipāta*, and probably predates its formation by several centuries.

On the other hand, the *PraS* has certainly enjoyed considerable prestige in East Asia. Not only was it translated into Chinese several times, but many commentaries on it were composed, both in China and Japan;[28] unfortunately nothing has survived of this secondary literature that goes back to the first milennium, with the sole exception of the *Banzhou zan* 般舟讚 (T.1981), a poetic rhapsody on the *PraS* composed by Shandao 善導 (613-681) which has itself spawned a whole range of commentaries but which is of little use for reconstructing the early history of the *sūtra*. But despite the loss of the literature devoted specifically to the exegesis of the text, the *PraS*'s popularity amongst devotees of Amitābha and practitioners of meditation is well attested; particularly important in this regard is its explicit claim that the seeing of the Buddhas can be accomplished without the possession of 'divine vision' and other extraordinary faculties (see 1Y and 3C): thus the benefits of the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* are available even to laypersons who do not have the time to acquire such rare powers. Accordingly the first record of the *PraS* in use in China relates to Huiyuan's community on Mt. Lu around the beginning of the fifth century; there its teachings played a prominent part in the activities of the White Lotus Society, formed by Huiyuan on 11 September 402. This society comprised both monks and laymen (it is not clear whether any women were included in its activities), and was dedicated primarily to the worship of Amitābha and to rebirth in Sukhāvatī.[29]

It is not my intention here to go into the subsequent history of the *PraS* in East Asia, its influence on religious practice, and its many appearances in treatises on meditation and Pure Land theory by such luminaries as Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597), Daochuo 道綽 (562-645), Shandao, Jiacai 迦才 (*floruit* c. 627-649), Genshin 源信 (942-1017) and Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212). Others have

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28 See Ono 1975-78: IX, 51-58.

29 See especially Zürcher 1959: 219-221, and Tsukamoto 1985: II, 844-860. In Huiyuan's famous exchange of letters with Kumārajīva, the *Dasheng dayi zhang* 大乘大義章(T.1856), the eleventh question-and-answer concerns the practice of the *pratyutpanna-samādhi*, with reference mainly to matters raised in Chap. 3 of the *PraS*--see Tsukamoto 1985: II,851-854, and Kimura 1962: I (Ibun-hen) 34-36 (Chinese text) and pp. 164-169 (Japanese translation). See also Kimura 1962: II (Kenkyū-hen), esp. 258-267, for a discussion of Huiyuan's approach to the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* and to *buddhānusmṛti*. For further information on the *Dasheng dayi zhang*, a crucial document for the early history of Chinese Buddhism, see Wagner 1971 & 1973.

dealt with various aspects of these thinkers' use of the *sūtra* in their writings, and I refer readers to their works.[30] For those who do not read Japanese, the best coverage of the area is to be found in the volume of essays entitled *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Gregory 1986), in which the contributions by Stevenson and Faure in particular illustrate the pervasive influence on Chinese Buddhist meditation theory and Pure Land doctrine of the sophisticated 'non-substantialist' approach found in the *PraS*.

III. THE STRUCTURE OF THE *PraS*

Despite the process of accretion and alteration which it has undergone, the *PraS* in its present form exhibits a certain coherence, and is better organised than many other examples of Mahāyāna *sūtra*-literature. As far as the overall structure of the *sūtra* is concerned, there are two recensions, one represented by the Tibetan text, presumably later, and the other represented by the Chinese versions (which themselves differ from each other in important respects), therefore presumably earlier. The two recensions diverge substantially only after Chap. 19, and where this occurs in the outline of the content of the text which now follows, the Tibetan recension is given on the left-hand side of the page, the Chinese on the right.

The *PraS* opens with a long *nidāna* (1A-I) describing the assembling of the Buddha's audience in the Veṇuvana outside Rājagṛha; pride of place is given to eight *bodhisattvas*, who arrive each from one of the eight major cities of the Buddha's world--first comes their leader, the householder Bhadrapāla from Rājagṛha, followed by Ratnākara from Vaiśālī, Guhagupta from Campā, Naladatta from Vārāṇasī, Susīma from Kapilavastu, Mahāsusārthavāha from Śrāvastī, Indradatta from Kauśāmbī, and Varuṇadeva from Sāketa. This neat narrative device serves both to confer a kind of universal validity on the *sūtra*'s teachings and to earmark them as especially significant for laypeople.

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30 For a general survey see Kawajiri 1931; additional references may be found in Sakurabe 1975b: 1, n. 1. On the *PraS* in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀, see Kodama 1976 and Andō 1958. For the use of the *sūtra* in Daochuo's *Anle ji* 安樂集, see Izumi 1927; for Shandao's *Guannian famen* 觀念法門, see Naruse 1977; and for Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集, see Fugen 1962.

When everyone has arrived Bhadrapāla rises from his seat and, reciting a long list of personal attributes and abilities, asks the Buddha which *samādhi bodhisattvas* should practise in order to acquire them (1J-Y). After praising Bhadrapāla for asking the question (2A), the Buddha states that the *samādhi* required is the *pratyutpanna-samādhi*, which he defines as entailing a second long list of attributes and attitudes (2B-J). In Chap. 3 the Buddha goes on to give specific instructions for the practice of the *samādhi*, while at the same time describing its nature by means of a number of similes relating mainly to dream experiences; the vividness and yet the ultimate unreality of that which is perceived during the *samādhi* are emphasised (3A-O). In Chap. 4 the Buddha outlines some of the practical and ethical prerequisites for the practice of the *samādhi* (4A-E), while in Chap. 5 he stresses the need for reverence for the preacher of Dharma (5A), and describes the great efficacy of the *pratyutpanna-samādhi*, in terms both of its own results and of the other spiritual benefits which it makes possible (5B-E). Chap. 6 deals with the considerable loss to be suffered by those future followers of the Buddha who will refuse to accept and practise the *samādhi* (both the practise and the *sūtra* itself, a customary ambiguity). Their immorality, their perversity in repudiating the *sūtra*, and their maliciousness in deprecating it to others are described and illustrated by various similes, and they are unfavourably contrasted with the wise and virtuous elect, who will of course take up the teaching with joyful alacrity. Great is the merit to be derived from believing in this teaching, the Buddha solemnly avows to his audience (6A-J).

The Buddha continues to praise in the most fulsome terms the excellence of those who take up the *samādhi* (7A-G), before returning in Chap. 8 to the practice of the *samādhi* itself. Some quite 'philosophical' or theoretical passages deal with various points of doctrine--relating mainly to the perception of phenomena--which *bodhisattvas* should attempt to internalise in their practice of the *samādhi* (8A-K). Following this the Buddha outlines the qualities--moral, attitudinal, practical, social--required of *bodhisattvas* who have given up the household life (i.e. Mahāyāna *bhikṣus*) and who wish to cultivate the *pratyutpanna-samādhi*. Particularly emphasised are respect and affection for the preacher of Dharma (*dharma-bhāṇaka*) or 'good friend' (*kalyāṇa-mitra*) from whom the *bodhisattvas* hear the *samādhi* in the first place (9A-M). Subsequently the Buddha deals in turn with those things required of Mahāyāna *bhikṣuṇīs* (10A-C), householder *bodhisattvas*, i.e. Mahāyāna

upāsakas (11A-D), and Mahāyāna *upāsikās* (12A-C).

Bhadrapāla expresses his admiration for the Buddha's munificence in making such a profound teaching available, and asks if it will continue to circulate in Jambudvīpa after the Buddha's demise (13A). The Buddha replies that the *samādhi* will disappear sometime after his Parinirvāṇa, but that it will re-appear in the 'last five hundred years' to be taken up and propagated by a few faithful souls (13B). Moved to tears of joy by this revelation, Bhadrapāla and his seven *bodhisattva* companions undertake to preach the *samādhi* in the terrible 'last five hundred years' (13C-F). They are joined by five hundred other followers, who vow to assist them in this task and beseech the Buddha to entrust the *samādhi* to the eight *bodhisattvas* (13G-H). The Buddha responds with one of his famous smiles (13I), and Ānanda, on cue as ever, asks in verse what the reason is for this (13J). By way of reply the Buddha recapitulates in verse, with certain elaborations, what he has just said in prose concerning the future of the *samādhi* (13K). The eight *bodhisattvas* and their five hundred followers rejoice over these revelations, and show their appreciation to the Buddha, who regales them with a religious discourse, presumably for their ears only (14A).

Bhadrapāla then enquires after further prerequisites for correct practice, and the Buddha enumerates four (14B), after which he goes on to detail the many worldly advantages to be derived from the *samādhi*, including the capacity to acquire, even in one's dreams, hitherto unknown teachings (14C-J). Here follows the *avadāna* of the merchant's son Sudatta, who first heard the *samādhi* from the lips of the *Tathāgata* Kṣemarāja and subsequently pursued it for many rebirths (15A-E). Sudatta is identified with the *Tathāgata* Dīpaṃkara (15F). Once again the Buddha solemnly advises his listeners to strive for the *samādhi*, whose excellence, pre-eminence and efficacy are underlined (15G-I). Further 'philosophical' passages follow, in which the correct practice of the four *smṛtyupasthānas* is related to that of the *samādhi*, and various statements are made concerning the nature of phenomena and the proper attitude to them (15J-N). Before the verses which restate all this (15P) we find a 'false ending' to the text, in which the Buddha entrusts the *samādhi* to the world and various beings realise various attainments (15O--not found in the early Chinese translation).

In Chap. 16 the *sūtra* is enlivened by a dramatic interlude, in which the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla invites the Buddha and all his followers to lunch the next day at his house in Rājagṛha (16A-C), and then goes back into town with

his seven companions to spend the night making the necessary preparations (16D-E). The next morning Bhadrapāla comes out to the Veṇuvana to inform the Buddha that all is in readiness, whereupon the whole congregation makes its way into the city (16F). By magic the Buddha makes Bhadrapāla's house both big enough to accommodate everyone and transparent so that all the people of Rājagṛha can see in (16G). Lunch is consumed (16H), the Buddha delivers the customary after-dinner sermon, and everybody returns to the Veṇuvana (16I-J).

Bhadrapāla next asks the Buddha what things will enable the *bodhisattva* to acquire the *samādhi* successfully (16K). The Buddha details another series of attributes, attitudes, practices, etc. (16L-V), and then recalls the prediction of his own awakening during the time of Dīpaṃkara, the traditional story being considerably altered by the important place occupied in it by the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* (17A-B). Thus a kind of lineage is established for the teaching.

Bhadrapāla again asks how *bodhisattvas* should cultivate the *samādhi*, and the Buddha in reply discusses the required understanding of 'all dharmas' and the proper attitude to them, with reference to the correct practice of the *smṛtyupasthānas* (18A-F). He also describes how the Buddhas are to be seen by the *bodhisattvas* (18G-K)

Chap. 19 contains further instructions on correct practice (19A-B), and lists eight *dharmas* which *bodhisattvas* engaged in the *samādhi* will acquire (19C). All this is recapitulated in verse (19D).

In addition to these eight *dharmas*, *bodhisattvas* will acquire the ten powers of a *Tathāgata* (20A-K), the four assurances (21A-E) and the eighteen dharmas exclusive to a Buddha (22A-B).	In addition to these eight *dharnas*, *bodhisattvas* will acquire the eighteen dharmaṣ exclusive to a Buddha (22A) and the ten powers of a *Tathāgata* (20A-J).

At the beginning of Chap. 23 the Buddha propounds four acts of 'rejoicing' which *bodhisattvas* should formally rehearse with regard to the *samādhi* (23A-D). The merit from this, which is to be 'dedicated' to others for the sake of perfect awakening, is described as very great indeed (23E-F).

[No Tibetan equivalent]	One Chinese version (T.418) only: 23A-F is restated in verse (23G).

Another *avadāna* follows to illustrate the preceding material. King Viśeṣagāmin hears the *samādhi* from the *Tathāgata* Siṃhamati and rejoices

over it. After Siṃhamati's demise Viśeṣagāmin is reborn as Prince Brahmadatta, who hears the *samādhi* again from the *Tathāgata*'s disciple Ratna. Having heard it once only Brahmadatta becomes a *bhikṣu* and follows Ratna for many years, eventually becoming a *Tathāgata* himself; Brahmadatta's followers also become Buddhas. Such is the merit of their former act of rejoicing under Siṃhamati (23H-O).

The Buddha follows this tale with a solemn injunction to his listeners to go to any lengths to hear and practise the *samādhi*, and once again emphasises the respect and obedience due to the preacher of Dharma, the good friend (23P-U).

The *avadāna* of Brahmadatta is recapitulated in verse (23V).

[No Tibetan equivalant]	A second *avadāna*, similar to that of Brahmadatta, is told, in which Śākyamuni appears as an unnamed king who attempts to hear the *samādhi* from the *bhikṣu* Varuṇa after the demise of Varuṇa's master, the *Tathāgata* Satyanāma, but is thwarted by Māra. The Buddha then dwells on the supreme value of devotion to one's teacher, and the great merit to be derived from accepting such a *samādhi* (23W).

The *avadāna* of the king who attempts to hear the *samādhi* from the *bhikṣu* is recapitulated in verse, together with the accompanying material on devotion to the teacher and the value of the *samādhi* (23X).

The Buddha then tells how the *samādhi* should be preserved for future believers by being copied out and stored away. It is also to be sealed with the 'seal of the *Tathāgatas*', the figurative nature of which is explained (24A-B).

Further instructions on behaviour and attitude are given (24C-E; 24H-J; 25A-B), interspersed with more glorification of the greatness and value of the *samādhi* (24F-G; 25C-E; 26A).	[No Chinese equivalent]

Finally, the Buddha addresses himself to Bhadrapāla and his seven companions, their five hundred followers, and the rest of his audience (26B). He entrusts the teaching to them twice (26C). He tells Bhadrapāla that the *samādhi* is to be mastered and taught to others so that it will endure (26D). As a result of the Buddha's preaching various beings realise various attainments (26E).

As a result of the Buddha's preaching various beings realise various attainments (26E). The Buddha addresses himself to Bhadrapāla and his seven companions, their five hundred followers, and the rest of his audience (26B). He entrusts the teaching to them twice (26C). He tells Bhadrapāla that the *samādhi* is to be mastered and taught to others so that it will endure (26D).

When the Buddha has finished speaking, Bhadrapāla and the rest of the audience rejoice in the usual manner (26F).

In attempting to characterise in more general terms the way in which the *PraS* organises its material, three structural categories can, I believe, be distinguished. The first is **historical** (or pseudo-historical) or **narrative**, and includes the description of events which take place before, during, or after the delivery of the teaching. The *nidāna* and *parindanā* may be placed in this category, as can prophetic descriptions of the future course of events. Such passages naturally serve to provide the framework or *Rahmengeschichte* within which other material may be arranged, and their dramatic quality also relieves the monotony of the work.

In the second category falls all that material the basic purpose of which is **propaganda** or **promotion**, i.e. the glorification of the teachings themselves. This covers, by virtue of their general intent, all discussions of the perverseness of detractors and opponents and of the fate in store for them; all exhortations to accept, cultivate, realise and pass on the teachings; all rhapsodies on the great merit to be derived from doing so; all injunctions to respect and worship the source of the teachings; and all *avadānas* which give past instances of these very things.

Thirdly we have the **didactic** or **expository** category, which refers to the actual message of the text, e.g. specific directions for meditational or other practices, ethical prescriptions, advice on how to relate to others, statements on the correct way of viewing things, and general discussions of the nature of

phenomena, etc.

These categories are never hard-and-fast; many instances of over-lapping and intermingling can be pointed out. Nor would it ever be sound practice to attempt to isolate the expository elements in a given work and ignore the other categories, for such works often get their message across in various unexpected ways. Indeed, it is my contention that at present we barely understand the Mahāyāna *sūtra* as a literary genre, and are not likely to do so until we forego the practice of mining these texts like quarries for their occasional deposits of doctrine, and approach them rather as whole works. However, leaving the further development of this argument for another occasion, let us simply note that when the above three categories are applied to the content of the *PraS*, the work's organisation is thrown into high relief, and the symmetry of its composition is revealed: narrative elements stand at beginning and end (Chaps. 1 and 26) and also break the text in the middle (Chaps. 13 and 16A-J), while the rest of the *sūtra* displays a regular alternation of expository and promotional material.[31] Of course, the fact that even in its oldest available version the *PraS* is relatively well-formed is not necessarily inconsistent with the kind of cumulative cut-and-paste process of composition which can be demonstrated for many other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, where a small central core is progressively expanded while whole chunks of text are either specially composed or borrowed from other sources and joined to it. It is thus quite possible that the sort of detailed analysis of internal inconsistencies which Schmithausen (1977) has so convincingly applied to parts of the *Aṣṭa* might also enable us to identify earlier and later strata in the *PraS*, but I prefer to refrain from such a complex and problematical undertaking here.[32]

IV. INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The main part of the present work consists of an annotated English translation of the Tibetan version of the *PraS*, or, to be more precise, the text established by me and published as *The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-*

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31 Cf. the remarks on the structure of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* in Gomez & Silk 1989: 18-30.

32 For an indication of one direction in which an analysis of this kind might lead, see Sueki 1989.

Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra (Tokyo, 1978), referred to in this study as *Text*.[33] For general remarks on this Tibetan version readers are referred to *Text*, Introduction, pp. ix-xix. Suffice it to say here that it was probably made around the beginning of the ninth century, and that the original on which it was based, which we may presume to have been written in some form of Sanskrit,[34] is for the moment almost entirely lost.

Now, when we refer to an 'original Sanskrit text', we must realise from the outset that we are adopting a convention, and a potentially misleading one at that. For there is, or was, no such thing as a single original Sanskrit text of the *PraS*, compiled around the beginning of the Common Era and remaining unchanged while various translations, Chinese and Tibetan, were made from it. We know that in general Mahāyāna *sūtras* underwent some degree of change in the course of the many centuries during which they were in use, being amplified (possibly the most common pattern), shortened, re-arranged, or subject to the introduction or modification of various doctrinal terms. The surviving translations of the *PraS* exhibit this 'textual fluidity' to a marked degree, and its broader features (in the form of omissions or insertions of whole sections of text) can easily be seen in the Concordance (*Text*, pp. 225-235). Given the complexities and obscurities of the early Chinese translations, however, it is not always as easy to determine the precise extent of the changes in content, as opposed to structure, which the *sūtra* has undergone. An attempt will be made later to sketch the broad outlines of the textual history of the *PraS*, insofar as they can be determined (see Appendix A).

We must therefore realise that when we speak of 'the original' of the *PraS*, we are in effect referring to its ever-changing Sanskrit textual tradition, and not to any single entity--a river, rather than a lake. This fact will have important implications for our approach to the Tibetan text, in that we must regard it as not necessarily or in all respects based on the same Sanskrit text which underlies the Chinese translations. Despite this the Tibetan version recommends itself here as the most suitable candidate for translation, even though the antiquity of T.418 surely lends it greater historical significance,[35]

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33 Cf. n. 1 above.

34 Or, more precisely, 'Indic'. Here, as elsewhere, I use the term 'Sanskrit' rather loosely, without intending the rigorously codified language better known as 'Classical Sanskrit'.

35 For my English translation of T.418 see Harrison: forthcoming (b).

simply because the Tibetan is the easiest version to translate, and thus provides us with the surest access to the *PraS* at one point in its long history. This is of course due to the standardised terminology employed by the Tibetan scholars and their Indian colleagues who rendered Sanskrit Buddhist works into Tibetan, or who revised the versions already made by their predecessors. In a sense, our text is not Tibetan at all, but a Tibetan 'translationese' in which many of the terms used are fully comprehensible only in terms of their Sanskrit referents. And what is often the case at a terminological level is sometimes true at the syntactical level also. For this reason a translation of a Tibetan text of this kind often turns out to be not a translation of the Tibetan at all, but of the Sanskrit that can be supposed to underlie it. While this may offend purists, my intention in adopting this approach was to furnish the reader with the best indication possible of the **meaning** of the Sanskrit text at one point in its history, rather than show how the Tibetans of the 9th century understood (or more rarely misunderstood) and expressed that meaning; in other words I have tried to remove the Tibetan veil to reveal the meaning of the Sanskrit beneath it. In the attempt to do that, however, I feel that my translation has often, and perhaps inevitably, fallen between two stools.

Despite the fact that such a translation of a translation must rest (in part at least) on a basis of commonly occurring Sanskrit-Tibetan equivalences, especially those codified in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, I have not attempted a reconstruction of the complete Sanskrit text from the Tibetan. This kind of activity is, I believe, methodologically unsound, and has rightly been called a 'rather useless amusement'. In my use of Tibetan-Sanskrit equivalents I have been interested only in probabilities which could be legitimately used to arrive at an English version; I would not have wished to produce an ersatz Sanskrit text of the *PraS* and see it acquire an undeserved life of its own. In light of this, a *caveat lector* sign should be hung above the Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Glossary that appears as Appendix D: it is intended for certain purposes only, and should be used with caution. As long as the Sanskrit text remains lost, we are dealing with probabilities, not certainties, and therefore a certain degree of tentativeness must attach to any attempted 'Sanskrit reconstructions', and indeed to the translation as a whole.

To the extent to which I have failed in my attempt to remain faithful to the English language, my translation could be said to fall between **three** stools! On the syntactical level I have observed the requirements of English usage as

closely as possible in an endeavour to produce a readable text, but often the extreme length of the Tibetan sentence has militated against clarity. On the level of vocabulary readers will find many examples of an awkward literalness, especially where terms of technical or semi-technical application are involved. A definite case can be made for the standardisation of terminology in translating Buddhist works (as the Tibetans themselves realised), and I have accordingly done my best to employ standard renderings (see Glossary for some of these), although the use in all cases of the same English for the same Tibetan is clearly undesirable, if not impossible. My main objective throughout has been to make the *PraS* accessible to the scholarly public in a readable and accurate translation, an end which would not have been served by either slavish adherence to the grammatical and phraseological peculiarities of the Tibetan or the use of the turgid esoteric translationese favoured by certain contemporary scholars. And yet when one is working on a genre not yet fully understood, which deals with ideas and experiences which one has not had oneself, one ought not to stray too far from the text. Whether my objective has been realised or not, readers may best judge for themselves.[36]

This translation, then, is primarily of the Tibetan text of the *PraS*. The length of the work has made me disinclined to attempt anything beyond that, and I make only passing reference to the Chinese versions, except where they preserve whole sections of text not found in Tibetan: these passages then appear in the body of the translation.[37] Thus my work falls short of the ideal propounded by Constantin Regamey (1938: 10-11), that of the 'critical

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[36] There is one respect in which I have made what some might consider a deliberate and arbitrary change to the text, and that is to consistently translate Tib. terms like *byang chub sems dpa'*, etc., as plural even when they are obviously singular. I do this so as to make my translation as unobtrusively gender-inclusive as possible. While I do not hold with the obliteration of evidence of Buddhist androcentrism, to refer always to the *bodhisattva*, etc., as 'he' in this day and age would, I believe, overstate the chauvinism of the original Indic texts, constrained as they were by the requirements of gender in its primary grammatical sense. Therefore I prefer to align myself with the Tibetan and Chinese versions, where gender is rarely indicated, and the only elegant way to do this is to use the plural, a stratagem rendered less objectionable in any case by the not infrequent confusion of number in Buddhist Sanskrit texts (see *BHSG*, 25.4).

[37] But clearly marked so as not to produce a conflated monster; cf. Gomez & Silk 1989: 12-13.

translation', since it does not include all the Chinese *variae versiones*. Differences between the Chinese and Tibetan versions are indeed often quite considerable, but to draw attention to them at every point would have made the work intolerably long and tedious. Therefore I have confined myself to noting only the more striking and important variants, and to giving the Chinese readings in those rare places where an obscurity in the Tibetan is clarified by the Chinese text--rather than matched by an equal or worse obscurity! Each of the Chinese translations deserves a full study of its own; this is especially true of T.418 and T.419. What I have tried to do, in my Concordance (see *Text*), Glossary and notes, has been to facilitate the future investigation of these Chinese versions. In addition, the translation of the Tibetan text itself will contribute to the elucidation of many of the obscurities which bedevil the early Chinese versions. Despite the limited scope of this study, however, readers will find in Appendix A a brief preliminary discussion of the Chinese translations, based on internal evidence and on the testimony of the Chinese scripture-catalogues.

To turn now to matters of presentation, the translation is divided up into chapters (arabic numerals) and sections (capital letters) in accordance with the published Tibetan text, e.g. 3B, 26C, etc. Reference to the text is always to these chapters and sections, never by page number. In this way readers may easily follow up a reference in the *Text*, in the translation, or (with the help of the Concordance) in any of the Chinese translations. Notes to the translation are also numbered by chapter, and are referred to as follows: n. 13.5 (= Chap. 13, n. 5). Verses are similarly referenced: 23Vv6 = Chap. 23, Section V, Verse 6.

Occasionally in the translation and notes probable Sanskrit equivalents are cited; these are to some degree tentative, as has been mentioned. In the case of technical terms the Sanskrit equivalent is given in parentheses after the English rendering (for the first two occurrences only), but for proper names, the Sanskrit is the form adopted in the translation itself, and is only discussed in the notes when the reconstruction involves a greater than usual degree of uncertainty; such cases are always indicated in the text by a preceding asterisk, e.g. *Vidyuddeva.[38]

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38 Sanskrit equivalents are drawn for the most part from Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, a most useful source if one excludes material derived from reconstructions (e.g. the *Saṃdhinirmocana*) or otherwise

My own additions to the text I have tried to keep to a minimum, but where the Tibetan is obscure I have inserted explanatory material within square brackets, in conformity with the normal practice. Also within square brackets are to be found translations of chapter titles taken from two Chinese translations, T.418 and T.416. The original Chinese for these may be found in the Comparative Table of Chapters (*Text*, pp. 238-239); T.417 and T.419 do not feature because the former merely adopts the chapter titles of T.418 while the latter has none at all.

Finally, square brackets enclosing a question-mark signal those unfortunate places where the Tibetan has successfully resisted my attempts to understand it. They are both sobering indications of the text's victory over its translator and invitations to others to see what I have missed. Acutely aware as I am of all the imperfections of this work, I nevertheless hope that it removes more difficulties than it creates, and therefore succeeds in making the *PraS* better known to a wider public.[39]

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insufficiently supported (e.g. from Das). For many technical terms Conze 1973 has also been most helpful.

39 Technical Note: The text of this publication was generated by the author on a Macintosh computer using the IndicTimes™ Laser Font (available from Ecological Linguistics, Washington, D.C.), and printed on a Macintosh LaserWriter. I should like to thank my colleague Ken Allott of the University of Canterbury for kindly designing a modified Times font to provide diacritical marks which the IndicTimes™ Laser Font lacks.

THE
SAMĀDHI OF DIRECT ENCOUNTER
WITH
THE BUDDHAS OF THE PRESENT

AN
ANNOTATED ENGLISH TRANSLATION
OF THE
TIBETAN VERSION
OF THE
PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAṂMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA

CHAPTER ONE

[1A]

In Sanskrit:
Ārya-pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukha-avasthita-samādhi-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra

In Tibetan:
The Holy Mahāyāna *Sūtra*
called the
Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.[1]

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[1] Although for the sake of elegance I have translated the title of our *samādhi* rather loosely as 'Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present', it must be admitted that a more literal rendition would run into difficulty. That is, asuming that *avasthita* is not functioning here as a verbal noun--a remote possibility--should one construe the compound as *pratyutpanna-buddhānāṃ saṃmukham avasthitasya samādhi*, 'the *Samādhi* of the One who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present', or as *pratyutpanna-buddhānāṃ [bodhisattvasya] saṃmukham avasthitānāṃ samādhi*, 'the *Samādhi* of the Present Buddhas Standing Face to Face [with the *Bodhisattva*]'? From a grammatical point of view the latter is less likely, since *saṃmukham* is left hanging unconnected, but Lokakṣema (T.418) appears to have understood the compound in this sense: his standard equivalent is 現在(諸)佛悉在前立三昧, 'the *Samādhi* of All the Buddhas of the Present Standing in Front' (e.g. 2B, 3A, 15N, 16K), which could hardly be construed as 'the *Samādhi* of Standing in Front of All the Buddhas of the Present'. T.419, on the other hand, has 現在佛面住定意, 'the Concentration of Abiding in Front of the Buddhas of the Present' (2J, 3A); it gives the title of the *samādhi* elsewhere (2B, 2C, 3E, 5D), but the text appears to be corrupt; e.g. 5D has 見 (read: 現)在佛住止 (read with SYM)定意, 'the Concentration of the Abiding of the Buddhas of the Present'. T.416 provides a more explicitly interpretative rendering of the title, usually given as 菩薩思惟諸佛現前三昧 (e.g. 3A), which might initially be taken as 'the *Samādhi* of the *Bodhisattva* who Meditates on the Buddhas Appearing Before [him/her]'. Many variations on this are found, e.g. the substitution of 念 for 思惟 (e.g. 2B), or the insertion of 一切 before or instead of 諸 (e.g. 3E), but the standard abbreviation is 現前三昧, literally 'manifest in front *samādhi*'. However, since 現前 also means 'present', T.416 may be using it, even in its full translation of the title, to render *pratyutpanna* and not *saṃmukhāvasthita* at all. If this is so, then Jñānagupta has avoided the problem, i.e. who is it that stands face to face with whom?

This question can perhaps be answered by reference to the contents of the

sūtra, for it is stated quite clearly at several points (e.g. 3C) that although no actual movement takes place, *bodhisattvas* who practise the *samādhi* perceive themselves transported to the *buddha-kṣetra* of their choice, there to see the resident Buddha and hear the Dharma expounded by him: i.e. the *bodhisattvas* go (in their imaginations) to stand face to face with the Buddhas, rather than the Buddhas coming to stand before them. In view of this I would, on balance, prefer 'the *Samādhi* of the One [or: of the *Bodhisattva*] who Stands Face to Face with the Buddhas of the Present' as the most likely **literal** translation of the Sanskrit *pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi*, even though this runs counter to the traditional interpretation, as presented, for example, by Haseoka Kazuya (1957: 128-129); but see also *Mvy* No. 745, and L. Schmithausen's translation of the title as 'Lehrrede über die Versenkung, in der [sich der Yogin den] derzeit existierenden Buddhas von Angesicht zu Angesicht gegenüber [sieht]' (in Schmithausen 1973: 175, n. 43).

Given then that *pratyutpanna-buddhānāṃ saṃmukham avasthitasya samādhi* is slightly more probable both from the point of view of Sanskrit grammar and in light of the content of the text, one might well elect to translate *da ltar gyi sangs rgyas mngon sum du bzhugs pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i ting nge 'dzin* (commonly found in the Tib. text) as 'the *Samādhi* of the *Bodhisattva* in Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present' (= *pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-bodhisattva-samādhi*), but it seems to me that 'the *Bodhisattvas*' *Samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present' is marginally preferable, since the use of the honorific *bzhugs pa* is slightly problematical, the phrase *byang chub sems dpa'i ting nge 'dzin* is also found in isolation, and the citation of the title in the *Dbh* (see Introduction, n. 21) runs *pratyutpanna-sarva-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthitaś ca nāma bodhisattva-samādhi* (at the end of a list of *bodhisattva-samādhis*).

From available indications it appears that the *PraS* was generally referred to either by an abbreviation of its Sanskrit title as given by the Tibetan (viz. *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*) or by a short alternative title containing the name of its most important character (next to Śākyamuni), i.e. the householder *bodhisattva* from Rājagṛha, Bhadrapāla. To take the latter first, this usage is attested by the title of T.419, *Bapo pusa jing* (= *Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra*); by one of the titles of T.416, *Xianhu pusa jing* 賢護菩薩經 (= *Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra*); and by the title found at the termination of each chapter of the Tibetan text: *bzang skyong gis zhus pa'i ting nge 'dzin* (= *Bhadrapāla-paripṛcchā-samādhi*). As for the abbreviated title, *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*, it provides the basis for the title of T.418, *Banzhou sanmei jing*, in which *sanmei* is of course *samādhi*, while *banzhou* represents the first two syllables of the Sanskrit *pratyutpanna*, possibly in some Central Asian dialect form of the word like the Prakrit *paccuppaṇṇa*. One also finds occasionally the fuller form *banzhouban sanmei*, as for example in the *DZDL* (262a21) or in the Korean edition of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T.2145, 6b12). Cf., however, Takasaki

BAMPO ONE[2]

[T.418: Chapter One, The Enquiry
T.416: Chapter One, Meditation]

On the one occasion when I heard the following[3] the Lord was staying at

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Masayoshi's (1973) long but unconvincing attempt to demonstrate that *banzhou* does not represent *pratyut(panna)* at all.

The Tibetan text always refers to the *samādhi* by its full title--with or without the insertion of *byang chub sems dpa'i*--if it refers to it by its title at all, except perhaps for one instance, at 23C, where the variant reading of DLNP *da ltar **gyi** ting nge 'dzin* might conceivably stand for *pratyutpanna-samādhi.*

It is certain, however, that the Chinese were most familiar with the title *Banzhou sanmei jing* (*Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*), which some of them came to understand as 'the *Sūtra* of the Standing *Samādhi*'--*pratyutpanna* = 'arisen', 'stood up', rather than 'present'! This fanciful misconstruction has its origins in the text itself (see 4B) and in the actual practice of the *samādhi*, but is none the less erroneous. Thus, while the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* was known as the *changli sanmei* 常立三昧 ('*samādhi* of constant standing') in the works of Zhiyi (on this see Stevenson 1986), Shandao, the author of the *Banzhou sanmei zan* (T.1981), is able to inform us in the prologue to that work that:

> The Sanskrit *pratyutpanna* (般舟) is translated by 'constantly walking in the Way' (常行道), or is a general term for walking continuously for seven days or ninety days; because the three activities [of body, speech, and mind] are uninterrupted it is called *pratyutpanna*... (448b18-20)

2 Note that the Stog Palace version of the text lacks these *bam-po* divisions.

3 On the interpretation of the opening formula *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*, etc., see Brough (1950) and, more recently, Silk (1989). Both Brough and Silk suggest--but only in passing--the possibility of linking the *ekasmin samaye* both to the verb that precedes it (*śrutam*) and to the one that follows it (*viharati sma*), i.e. of construing the phrase as a kind of *apo koinou* construction (well-known to Greek grammarians). The commentators they cite all seem to be familiar with this ambiguous or 'double-jointed' interpretation, which is, in my view, the correct one, and as such carefully preserved in the wording and the punctuation of the standard Tibetan translation. This is even more obvious when one considers what seems to have been an early variant rendition, attested in this case in two versions of the *PraS* (L & N): *'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na /*, literally 'on the one occasion when I heard these words.' Silk (160) cites this reading from two Dunhuang texts without comment, seemingly unaware of its significance. Much more could be said on this question, but I

Rājagṛha, in the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood,[4] together with a great assembly of five hundred *bhikṣus*, all of whom were *arhats*, in whom the noxious influences (Skt. *āsrava*) were eliminated, who were free of the defilements (Skt. *kleśa*), had attained mastery, done their duty, performed their tasks, laid down their burden, obtained their own goal, destroyed the fetters of existence, whose minds were fully liberated by perfect understanding, who had attained the excellent supremacy of complete mastery over their minds, and obtained the eight emancipations[5]--with the exception of one person, namely, the Venerable Ānanda.[6]

[1B] On that occasion the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla[7] had come

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reserve a full discussion for another occasion.

4 On the 'Bamboo Wood' (Skt. *veṇuvana*; Pāli *veḷuvana*) see *DPPN* II, s.v. Veḷuvana (I). Tib. *bya ka lan da ka gnas pa* suggests *kalandaka-nivāsa* (dwelling-place of the Kalandakas) rather than the more usual *kalandaka-nivāpa* ('food-offering' or 'feeding-ground' of the Kalandakas), for which see *DPPN* I, p. 534; *BHSD*, p. 171. Kalandakas are generally thought to be squirrels, but Tib. and T.419 (q.v. 920a7) obviously understood them to be a kind of bird.

5 T.419 (920a10), 皆悉度八禪 , suggests an original *aṣṭa-vimokṣa-dhyāyin*, 'absorbed in the eight emancipations'.

6 Similar lists of *śrāvaka-guṇa* (qualities of the 'disciples') are found at the beginning of most Mahāyāna *sūtras*. For a discussion of them, see *Traité* I, pp. 203-219. The different Chinese versions of this opening paragraph will be discussed below (see Appendix A).

7 Bhadrapāla, a lay *bodhisattva* from Rājagṛha, is the principal character (after the Buddha) of the *PraS*, and has given his name to the *sūtra* (see above, n. 1.1). He appears in many Mahāyāna *sūtras* as the leader of a group known as the 'sixteen good men' (*ṣoḍaśa satpuruṣāḥ*), all of them eminent lay followers of the Buddha (although we do not know if any of them had any historical basis). The group is listed, for example, in *SP* (p. 2), where the Buddha is described as being in the company of (among others) 'the sixteen good men led by Bhadrapāla, namely, Bhadrapāla, Ratnākara, Susārthavāha, Naradatta, Guhyagupta, Varuṇadatta, Indradatta, Uttaramati, Viśeṣamati, Vardhamānamati, Amoghadarśin, Susaṃprasthita, Suvikrāntavikrāmin, Anupamamati, Sūryagarbha, and Dharaṇīṃdhara, and the 80,000 *bodhisattvas* led by them (*evaṃpramukhair*).' The sixteen *satpuruṣas* are thus also *bodhisattvas*; further, the *SP* mentions Bhadrapāla again at p. 227 as being at the head of 500 *bodhisattvas*, as he indeed appears in the *PraS*. Similar lists of the *satpuruṣas*, with certain variations, are found elsewhere (see *Traité* I, p. 428, n. 1).

Why Bhadrapāla is regarded as the foremost of these *satpuruṣas* /*bodhisattvas* is difficult to say. The question is discussed by the *DZDL* (see *Traité* I, p. 430) but its answer is based in large part on the *PraS* itself. I suspect that his later eminence, as recorded here by the *DZDL*, does spring largely from the important part he plays in the *PraS*, but this does not of course explain why the author of the *PraS* chose him for the part in the first place.

It is, however, likely that the tradition of a set number of *satpuruṣas* was current at the time of the composition of the *PraS*. Bhadrapāla appears with seven companions, lay *bodhisattvas* whose names correspond closely enough to the standard list as found in the *SP*. We have Ratnākara (for the Tib. equivalents see Appendix D, and the notes accompanying their first appearance in the text), (Mahā)Susārthavāha, Naladatta (probably a variant of Naradatta), Guhagupta (or Guhyagupta), Varuṇadeva (a variant of Varuṇadatta), Indradatta, and an extra figure who does not feature in the traditional list, Susīma. These eight are referred to in the text (e.g. at 13H) as *skyes bu dam pa* (= *satpuruṣa*); they are the ones described in Chap. 13 as being primarily responsible for the preservation of the *sūtra* and its propagation in the 'Latter Days'; their role is cardinal. The *PraS* was thus composed either in a milieu in which the contribution of Buddhist laypeople was thought to be of great importance or, at the very least, by someone who sought to accord the laity a higher status.

The same list of eight *bodhisattvas* also appears in the *Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra*, which is preserved in one Tibetan translation (*Peking* No. 937, Vol. 37, 91-3-7 to 93-1-5; *Lhasa* Vol. 68, Mdo Za 75b4-80b6) and five Chinese translations (T.427-431). This sūtra describes the merits of hearing the names of eight Buddhas who have their Buddha-fields in the east. The list of eight *bodhisattvas* is found only at the end of the earliest two Chinese translations, T.427 (ascribed to Zhi Qian) and T.428 (ascribed to Dharmarakṣa); it is absent from the later Chinese versions and from the Tibetan.

Zhi Qian's text runs as follows (73a17-23):

> Then the *bodhisattvas*--the *bodhisttva* Bhadrapāla,the *bodhisattva* Ratnākara, the *bodhisattva* Guhagupta, the *bodhisattva* Naradatta, the *bodhisattva* Susīma, the *bodhisattva* Mahāsusārthavāha, the *bodhisattva* Indradatta and the *bodhisattva* Varuṇadeva--these eight men, having pursued the Way for innumerable *kalpas* and still not having accepted Buddhahood, took a vow to make all human beings of the world in the ten directions attain Buddhahood: "All those who are in peril should call on the names of us eight men, then they will be saved; and when the hour of death draws nigh, we eight men shall then fly to meet them."

It is impossible to determine at this stage what the relationship is between the list of eight *bodhisattvas* in this text and the same list in the *PraS*. A connection is implied, but the whole tradition of the eight (or sixteen)

out from the great city of Rājagṛha and, in order to hear the Dharma, was in attendance on the Lord, along with five hundred *bodhisattvas* who were all householders and upholders of the five rules of training (Skt. *pañca-śikṣāpada*). And so it was that the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, after emerging in the late afternoon from secluded meditation,[8] went to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated him seven times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.

Those five hundred *bodhisattvas* too, after emerging in the late afternoon from secluded meditation, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord seven times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.[9]

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satpuruṣas/bodhisattvas remains to be clarified. (For additional information, see *BD*, pp. 2411-2412; for the eight *bodhisattvas*, *ibid.* p.4218; see also Akanuma 1939: 419-420.)

8 Tib. *phyem red kyi dus kyi tshe nang du yang dag 'jog las langs nas* (the expression occurs twice in 1B and once in 1C) is related to the Pāli phrase *sāyaṇhasamayaṃ paṭisallāṇā vuṭṭhito*, 'emerging towards evening from solitude/solitary meditation' (see e.g. M.i.40, i.109, i.147), which in Sanskrit is *sāyāhṇa(kāla)samaye pratisaṃlayanād vyutthāya* (see e.g. *Mv* i, 317.6; iii, 225.15). For *pratisaṃlayana = nang du yang dag (par) 'jog (pa)* see *Mvy* 1488, 1642 (see also *BHSD*, s.v.). *Sāyāhṇa-kāla-samaya*, recorded by Conze (1973: 423) for the *Vajracchedikā*, is rendered *phyi dro'i dus kyi tshe* in the Tibetan version of that work (see *Lhasa Kanjur*, Vol. 34, 115-2-7). However, *phyem red* as an archaic term for *phyi dro* ('afternoon', 'late afternoon', 'early evening', i.e. the last third of the day) is attested in *TMCM*, s.v. T.418 is in agreement with the Tibetan, since its *bushi* 晡 時 denotes the late afternoon, i.e. 3-5 p.m., but T.416 has *chenzhao* 晨 朝, 'early morning', 'daybreak', which cannot easily be accounted for.

9 T.416 has placed this section after 1D, although all other versions agree with the Tib. The intention of the author of Jñānagupta's exemplar may have been to revise the text so as to put Bhadrapāla and his lay *bodhisattvas* in their place, i.e., after the *bhikṣus* and the *bhikṣuṇīs*. But this runs counter to the whole tenor of the *PraS*, in which Bhadrapāla and his fellow lay *bodhisattvas* occupy pride of place; it is thus natural that he should be first to arrive in the presence of the Buddha. Further, it is clear enough from 1B and 1C that Bhadrapāla, along with the 500 *bodhisattvas* and the 500 *bhikṣus*, is already in the Veṇuvana, although not in the same part of it as the Buddha. This alteration to the text as it appears in T.416 may be connected with other textual changes; see below, n. 9.4.

[1C] Those five hundred *bhikṣus* too, after emerging in the late afternoon from secluded meditation, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord seven times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.

At that time also the Venerable Śāriputra and the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, after spending the rainy season in the great city of Śrāvastī, journeyed in due course through the land together with five hundred *bhikṣus*, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence.[10]

[1D] Then at that time the Lord performed such a working of magic that all those *bhikṣus* staying and living in different regions came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence, such was the working of magic that he performed. And so at that time there were one hundred thousand *bhikṣus* gathered together and seated in the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood.

Then at that time the Lord performed such a working of magic that thirty thousand[11] *bhikṣuṇīs* headed by Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī[12] came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord seven times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence, such was the working of magic that he performed.

[1E] Then at that time the Lord performed such a working of magic that:

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10 The arrival of Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana does not appear in either T.418 or T.419. Note also the alternation in this section of the chapter between triple and sevenfold circumambulation, which follows no discernible pattern.

11 T.416 sets Mahāprajāpatī's retinue at 20,000 *bhikṣuṇīs*.

12 On Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, the Buddha's aunt and foster-mother, see *DPPN*, s.v. Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.

the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Ratnākara[13] set out from the great city of Vaiśālī, accompanied and followed by 28,000 Licchavi youths, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated him three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Guhagupta[14] also set out from the great city of Campā, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

[1F] the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Naladatta [Naradatta?][15] also set out from the great city of Vārāṇasī, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings,[16] and

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13 On Ratnākara, the *licchavi-kumāra* of Vaiśālī, see in particular Lamotte 1962: 103, n. 38. The translation of his name given here (Dkon mchog 'byung gnas) is at odds with that found in the rest of the work (Rin chen 'byung gnas); in addition, Yangs pa for Vaiśālī is at variance with the standard Yangs pa can (as found at 3D). This suggests an imperfectly realised attempt to revise and standardise an older translation not in accordance with the 'new terminology' (see *Text*, pp. x-xi).

14 Guhagupta (alternatively, Guhyagupta) from Campā is elsewhere described as the son of a merchant (*śreṣṭhiputra*); see e.g. 13E, and also *Traité* I, p. 429. Śubhagupta is also found in certain texts (*Traité* I, p. 428), in reference to the same person.

15 Tib. 'Dam bus byin ('reed-given') implies a Sanskrit original such as Naladatta, Nālada, etc., but confusion with the *satpuruṣa-bodhisattva* Naradatta is almost certain (see *BHSD*, s.v. Naradatta, Nālaka, Nālada). In any case I find no Naladatta in *BHSD*, etc., although -datta is definitely the last element in the name, as shown by the transliterations of T.419 and T.418. It is impossible to tell from the Chinese whether Nara- or Nala- was the original form of the first element, but given the regular occurrence of the name Naradatta in the lists of the *satpuruṣa* I feel it is more likely than Naladatta here. Nevertheless, on the basis of the Tib. the form Naladatta will be maintained in the translation. Naradatta/Naladatta is said to be a young brahman from Vārāṇasī, but the *DZDL* gives his provenance as Mithilā (*Traité* I, p. 429).

16 N,P,L: '25,000 beings' (against D and R), but no Chinese version supports this.

came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Susīma[17] also set out from the great city of Kapilavastu, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

[1G] the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Mahāsusārthavāha[18] and the householder Anāthapiṇḍada[19] also set out from the great city of Śrāvastī, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Indradatta[20] also set out from the great city of Kauśāmbī, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat

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17 Susīma, the *bodhisattva* from Kapilavastu, is the only figure who does not occur regularly in the traditional lists of the *satpuruṣa*, but cf. n. 1.7 above for his appearance in the *Aṣṭabuddhaka*. His arrival at the Bamboo Wood is not given in T.416. He is not to be confused with the *devaputra* ('celestial youth') of the same name who also appears in the *PraS* (see Glossary).

18 Mahāsusārthavāha, or Susārthavāha, is one of the traditional *satpuruṣa* (see n. 1.6 above) and a merchant (*śreṣṭhin*) of Śrāvastī like his companion Anāthapiṇḍada (*Traité* I, p. 429). Elsewhere in the *PraS* (e.g. 13E) he is designated as a householder. The usual equivalent for his name is Ded dpon che bzang (see e.g. 13E), rather than the Ded dpon chen po of 1G (cf. above, n. 1.13).

19 Anāthapiṇḍada or Anāthapiṇḍika was a famous wealthy lay supporter of the Buddha in Śrāvastī. See *BHSD*, p. 22; *DPPN* I, pp. 67-72. He is not one of the eight lay *bodhisattvas*, but merely accompanies Susārthavāha from Śrāvastī.

20 Indradatta is not mentioned at this point in T.416.

down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Varuṇadeva[21] also set out from the great city of Sāketa, accompanied and followed by 28,000 beings, and came to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

[1H] King Ajātaśatru[22] also set out from the great city of Rājagṛha, accompanied and followed by 30,000 beings, and came to the Haunt of the Kalandakas in the Bamboo Wood, to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the

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21 This reconstruction is made on the basis of T.418--和 論 調--and T.419--譔 論 調. In T.418 和 輪 stands for Varuṇa (cf. Glossary, s.v.) while 調 at that time commonly did duty for *deva* or *devī*--see e.g. Ui 1971: 498 (s.v. Gaṅgādevī) & 539 (調= *de*); Coblin 1981: Nos. 232 & 304. Thus the given name of the Chinese monk Yan Fotiao 嚴 佛 調 (who worked around the same time as Lokakṣema and translated the *Ugra-paripṛcchā-sūtra*) is generally Sanskritised as Buddhadeva (see Zürcher 1959: 34 and n. 86). The testimony of T.416 and the Tib. is equivocal. T.416's 水 天 ('water-god') could simply denote Varuṇa, but also renders Varuṇadatta (see *BD*, p. 2412a) and, I suspect, Varuṇadeva, since 水 天 天 would be clumsy. The Tib. Chu lha similarly suggests only Varuṇa, while Chu lha'i lha for Varuṇadeva is in fact attested (see *TSD*, s.v.); this could imply that in the copy of the *PraS* used by the Tibetan translators the *bodhisattva* in question was known simply as Varuṇa, but the evidence is not conclusive. Further, the Varuṇadeva who appears in the *ŚsP* at 6.10 (along with other *bodhisattvas* including Bhadrapāla, Ratnakara (*sic*), Susārthavāha, Naradatta, Guhagupta, and Indra**deva**) is translated by the Tibetans as Chu bdag lha, which indicates a lack of standardisation (see Ghosh 1888: 4-5). At any rate the passage in the *Śsp* demonstrates the existence of the name Varuṇadeva as opposed to the more common form Varuṇadatta (see e.g. *SP*, p. 2), and also exemplifies the confusion between -datta and -deva, for in it, instead of Indradatta, we find Indradeva, who nevertheless appears in the Tib. translation as Dbang pos byin!

T.416 gives Rājagṛha as the hometown of Varuṇadeva, but this is not supported by the other versions.

22 On Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, see *DPPN* I, pp. 31-35. Since he is supposed to have come to the throne eight years before the Buddha's death, the *PraS* is represented as one of the Buddha's later teachings. T.418 describes Ajātaśatru as the 'King of Rājagṛha', while T.416 has 'Lord of the Kingdom of Magadha, son of Vaidehī'.

Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the Four Great Kings; Śakra, Lord of the *devas*; Brahmā Sahāṃpati; and the *devaputra* Śrībhadra[23] also, accompanied and followed by many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *devas*, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

the *devaputra* Maheśvara also, accompanied and followed by many thousands of *devaputras* from the Realm of the Pure Abodes, came to the place where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he sat down to one side in the Lord's presence;

[1I] the four *asura* Lords also, with many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *asuras*; the *nāga* Kings Nanda and Upananda also, with many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *nāgas*; the *nāga* King Anavatapta also, with many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *nāgas*; the *nāga* King Manasvin also, with many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *nāgas*; and the *nāga* King Elapatra[24] also, with many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *nāgas* came to the place where the Lord was, and having on their arrival prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, they sat down to one side;
such was the working of magic that he performed.

And so at that time this Trichiliomegachiliocosm,[25] in the space overhead and up to the level of the Brahmaloka, was so crowded with highly exalted *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras* and *mahoragas* that one could not even have found enough room to insert the point of a staff.

[1J] Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, having risen from his seat and arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, put his right knee to the

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23 The *devaputra* Śrībhadra (*lha'i bu* Dpal bzang(s)) occurs only in Tib. A *nāga* king of that name is known (cf. *BHSD*, p. 536) and given in *Mvy* as Dpal bzang, but the *devaputra* is otherwise unknown.

24 T.418 omits Elapatra; all Chinese versions have the *nāgarāja* Sāgara, who is absent from the Tib.

25 Sanskrit *trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra-lokadhātu*. For the significance of this term, see *BHSD*, p. 259.

ground, extended his joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

'Your Reverence, if the Lord would give me the opportunity to have the questions I ask answered, then I would question the Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One, on a certain matter.'

When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, question the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One on whatever you wish, and by answering those questions I shall gladden your mind.'[26]

[1K] When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Lord, what *samādhi* is it, established in which *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* (1) become those whose learning (Skt. *śruti*) is like the sea, who have an accumulation of learning; (2) become those who are free of doubt, free of uncertainty, and free of perplexity; (3) become those who are not deficient and not defective in supreme and perfect awakening (Skt. *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*); (4) become those who are not reborn in any of the benighted states (Skt. *akṣaṇa*),[27] and who remember their rebirths; (5) become those who, even in their dreams, are not deprived of the vision of the *Tathāgatas*; (6) become fair

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[26] The formal structure of sections 1J-Y (including the standard clichés found in 1J) bears a close resemblance to that passage in the *Śgs* (see Lamotte 1965: 120-123) in which the *bodhisattva* Dṛḍhamati asks the Buddha which *samādhi* will produce a certain range of qualities. Here in the *PraS* Bhadrapāla also enumerates a long list of qualities desirable for bodhisattvas (*bodhisattva-guṇas*), each one ending with the words *mams su 'gyur ba.* I have numbered these units 1-146 in order to facilitate any possible future study of the Chinese versions. It should be noted that T.418 and T.419 make no such formal distinction between one quality and the next, but that T.416 begins each quality with the words 云何當得 ('How shall they obtain/succeed in..?') and ends each with a subordinate clause terminating with 故 ('by', 'through', 'because of'), which corresponds to the frequent use of the instrumental clause or phrase in the Tib. This is despite the fact that the subordinate clause or phrase does not always have an instrumental or causal significance. The Sanskrit prototype for this construction is possibly to be identified as the instrumental case either of ordinary nouns or of the *-tā* suffix appended to (usually verbal) nouns. A similar list of *guṇas*, for instance, is to be found in *Sukh*, pp. 51-54, with examples of this construction (e.g. p. 52, lines 13ff.).

[27] For the eight *akṣaṇas* see *BHSD*, p. 2.

of form, beautiful, handsome, and endowed with the highest excellence of splendour and beauty; (7) become those who are of high birth and noble lineage; (8) become those whose personal following is numerous, whose personal following is inseparable;

[1L] (9) become those who are endowed with understanding; (10) become those who are endowed with mindfulness (Skt. *smṛti*); (11) become those who are endowed with intellect; (12) become those who are endowed with glory; (13) become those who are endowed with steadfastness; (14) become those who are endowed with magic power (Skt. *ṛddhi*); (15) become those who are endowed with wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*); (16) become those who are endowed with merit; (17) become those who are endowed with modesty and bashfulness; (18) become those who have eradicated pride; (19) become those who are dwellers in friendliness (Skt. *maitrī*); (20) become those who are endowed with cognition (Skt. *jñāna*); (21) become those who are endowed with intelligence; (22) become those who are endowed with vigour (Skt. *vīrya*); (23) become those who are intrepid;

[1M] (24) become pursuers of the profitable (Skt. *artha*); (25) become pursuers of Dharma; (26) become pursuers of quietude (Skt. *śamatha*); (27) become pursuers of insight (Skt. *vipaśyanā*); (28) become pursuers of trance (Skt. *dhyāna*); (29) become pursuers of *samādhi*; (30) become pursuers of wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*); (31) become those who are neither frightened nor afraid nor fearful of the dharmas of emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*), signlessness (Skt. *animitta*) and wishlessness (Skt. *apraṇihita*); (32) become those who, far from falling into perdition, are keepers of the Dharma and great preachers of the Dharma (Skt. *dharma-bhāṇaka*); (33) become those who are born in whatever Buddha-field (Skt. *buddha-kṣetra*) they wish to be born in, and are not captured by any of the schools of the sectarians (Skt. *tīrthika*);

[1N] (34) become those who are endowed with the power (Skt. *bala*) of causes (Skt. *hetu*) but not endowed with the power of conditions (Skt. *pratyaya*)[?][28];

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28 The sense is not clear to me. Could this possibly mean that one is subject only to the conditioning effects of one's own merits (*hetu*), and not subject to external causal influences (*pratyaya*), e.g. the harmful influences of other beings? The compounds *hetu-bala* and *pratyaya-bala* do occur in the

(35) become those who are endowed with the power of intent (Skt. *āśaya*); (36) become those who are endowed with the power of application (Skt. *prayoga*); (37) become those who are endowed with the power of the faculties (Skt. *indriya*); (38) become those who are endowed with the power of the objects of sense (Skt. *ālambana*?); (39) become those who are endowed with the power of profound thought; (40) become those who are endowed with the power of quietude (Skt. *śamatha*); (41) become those who are endowed with the power of insight (Skt. *vipaśyanā*);[29] (42) become those who are endowed with the power of conviction (Skt. *adhimukti*); (43) become those who are endowed with the power of vows (Skt. *praṇidhāna*);[30]

[10] (44) become those of inexhaustible intent (Skt. *āśaya*); (45) become those who resemble the watery expanse of the ocean, in that their learning (Skt. *śruti*) is like the ocean; (46) become those who are like the moon in their perfection of the pure white dharmas; (47) become those who are like the sun in dispelling the darkness of ignorance; (48) become those who are like lamps in shedding light; (49) become those who are like the sky in being unobstructed; (50) become those who are free of fixation, in that their thoughts resemble space

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Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya (see Hirakawa 1973-78: s.v., & de La Vallée Poussin 1971: esp. III, p. 176, where *pratyaya-balena* is glossed as 'par la force de la parole d'autrui (*parato ghoṣa*)'), but I am not sure if their use in that text is relevant.

29 For *mam par lta ba* one would expect *vilokana* ('observation') or *vyavalokana* ('examination'), but in view of the preceding *zhi gnas* (*śamatha*) I have conjectured *vipaśyanā*, even though this is usually translated *lhag mthong* (cf. 1M).

30 A list of ten powers (*bala*) peculiar to *bodhisattvas* is also to be found in *Mvy* 759-769, but it has only three items in common with our list, viz. *āśaya-bala*, *prayoga-bala*,and *praṇidhāna-bala*. Another list of ten, to be found in *Dharmas* 75, has only one item in common, i.e. *adhimukti-bala*. See also Lamotte 1965: 254-255; *Traité* III, pp. 1605-1612; and *BD*, pp. 2403-2404, where the various lists of *bodhisattva-balas* are given in full. None of them resembles the *PraS*. This list of ten *balas* (we count *hetu-bala / pratyayabala* as one) is unfortunately not found in T.416, while its appearance in T.418 and T.419 is marked by obscurities. Both seem to begin with a *puṇya-bala*, or perhaps *kuśalamūla-bala* (T.418:本功德力; T.419:本德多力). T.419 also appears to have taken most of the terms (original Sanskrit probably X-*balavat*) in the sense of 'possessing an X that is powerful', rather than 'possessing the power of X'.

(Skt. *ākāśa*); (51) become those who are like *vajra* in their penetration of all dharmas; (52) become those who are like mountains in the steadiness of their might; (53) become those who are characterised by steadiness because of their imperturbability; (54) become those who are like threshold-stones because of their steadfastness;

(1P) (55) become those who are like catskin-bags in their mental flexibility; (56) become those who are untrammelled by going wherever they wish like a bird; (57) become those whose pride is destroyed, like the son of an outcaste (Skt. *caṇḍāla*); (58) become those who enjoy the forest (Skt. *araṇya*) like wild animals and monkeys, and take no pleasure in villages, cities, market-towns, royal cities, and royal capitals; (59) become those who are unsullied, through consorting neither with householders nor with renunciants; (60) become those who convoke gatherings and then teach them; (61) become those who cannot be shaken by any beings; (62) become those whom all Māras find difficult to subdue; (63) become obtainers of the special knowledges (Skt. *pratisaṃvid*) through their certainty with regard to all dharmas; (64) become those who cannot be led astray by others with regard to all the Buddha-dharmas;

[1Q] (65) become those who are insuperable and are of steadfast intent through the imperturbability of their great friendliness (Skt. *maitrī*); (66) become those who are of profound resolve (Skt. *adhyāśaya*)[31] in that their practice lies in non-objectification (Skt. *anupalambha*, etc.) and they have the ineffable as their sphere of activity; (67) become those who are fully conscientious and are of agreeable intent through rejoicing in the impact (Skt.

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[31] The terms *āśaya* (*bsam pa*) and *adhyāśaya* (*lhag pa'i bsam pa*) are difficult to translate (see *BHSD*, s.v.; see also Lamotte 1962: 405-407). Although I have tried to adopt standard renderings--'intent' for *āśaya* and 'resolve' for *adhyāśaya* are in fact little more than formal 'translation-markers'--I have not been able to adhere to them in every context.

A list of *adhyāśayas*, with verse definitions, is also given in *Mv* i.85.3ff. (Bagchi ed., pp. 63-66). Although the definitions bear no relation to the wording of the *PraS*, some of the *adhyāśayas* are common to both texts. The twenty in the *Mv* are *kalyāṇa*, *snigdha*, *madhura*, *tīkṣṇa*, *vipula*, *vicitra*, *gambhīra*, *aparyādinna*, *anupahata*, *asādhāraṇa*, *unnata*, *akṛpana*, *anivarta*, *akṛtrima*, *śuddha*, *dṛḍha*, *svabhāva*, *tṛpta*, *pudgala*, and *ananta*. Where in 1Q one Tib. word permits of several Sanskrit equivalents, I have made a choice on the basis of the list in the *Mv*.

vega) of Dharma; (68) become those of broad resolve through performing acts of worship and veneration to all Buddhas; (69) become those whose resolve is diverse through their having created diverse wholesome potentialities (Skt. *kuśala-mūla*); (70) become those who are of good resolve through the purity of their [moral] adornment; (71) become those of virtuous intent through their rejection of the faults of falsehood and anger; (72) become those who are of pure resolve through obtaining the radiance of omniscient cognition (Skt. *sarvajña-jñāna*); (73) become those who are of cheerful resolve through embracing extensive wisdom and having thoughts which are pure and devoid of harshness; (74) become those who have the resolve to take part in the grand display through the purity of their adornment of all world-systems (Skt. *lokadhātu*);

[1R] (75) become those who are pure in morality (Skt. *śīla*) by being free of the habits of thought of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*; (76) become those who are firm in their vows through perseverence in all undertakings; (77) become those who lead all beings in the pursuit of wholesome dharmas; (78) become those who are fearless in the [pursuit of the] rules of training and the perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*) of all *bodhisattvas*; (79) become those who are unable to regress (Skt. *avinivartanīya/avaivartika*) in relation to all Buddha-dharmas; (80) become those who are invincible to all Māras, other sectarians (Skt. *tīrthika*) and rival teachers; (81) become those who apply themselves to all dharmas by focussing their concentration (Skt. *manasikāra*) on the Buddha-dharmas; (82) become those who have an apperception (Skt. *saṃjñā*) of all the Buddhas as their father; (83) become those who are empowered (Skt. *adhiṣṭhita*) by all the Buddhas through the radiance engendered in all dharmas [?];[32] (84) become those whose cognition is unobscured (Skt. *anāvaraṇa-jñāna*) through the immediate manifestation of all Buddha-dharmas;

[1S] (85) become those who are like an illusory person in their lack of conceit or misconception (Skt. *manyanā*) with regard to all dharmas;[33] (86) become

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32 Cf. T.416 (873c7-8): 'How should they manage to be sustained by the Buddha's power, through being born amidst the radiance of all the Buddha-dharmas?'

33 This 'quality' contains two points worthy of note. Firstly, *māyā-puruṣa* appears to have been translated as 'illusionist' by both T.418 (幻師, 'master of

those who are like phantoms in having dharmas which are unproduced, do not come into existence and do not pass away; (87) become those who are dreamlike in their understanding of the three times;[34] (88) become those who are like reflections in manifesting their own bodies in all world-systems (Skt. *lokadhātu*);[35] (89) become like echoes in possessing the dharma which neither passes on nor abides, yet is unlocalised; (90) become those who are like shadows in all their deaths and births; (91) become those who abide in the cognition of non-existence by eliminating the apperception of existents (Skt. *bhāva-saṃjñā*?); (92) become those who apply themselves to the dharma of marklessness (Skt. *alakṣaṇa*) by the habitual absence of duality; (93) become those whose aspiration to awakening (Skt. *bodhicitta*) is so measureless that the dharma-realm (Skt. *dharma-dhātu*) is their ultimate end; (94) become those who are unshakeable in all world-systems through the unshakeability of their mental processes; (95) become those whose sphere of activity is unattached in all Buddha-fields;

[1T] (96) become those who have entered the gate of *dhāraṇīs* through proficiency in the analysis of all terms pertaining to the Dharma; (97) become those who are vessels of the Dharma through being vessels of all Buddha-dharmas; (98) become those who are empowered by all the *Tathāgatas* in that they are steadfast by virtue of the majesty of the Buddha; (99) become those who are fearless in that they utter the roar of the bull and the lion; (100) become those who are unafraid through delighting all those in the world; (101) become

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illusion') and T.419 (作幻人, 'the person who creates illusions'); this then would yield the sense that the *bodhisattva* becomes like a magician who is not fooled by the apparitions which s/he creates.

The second point concerns *rlom sems* (Sanskrit *manyanā*), translated here as 'conceit or misconception'. The word has two senses, one being 'vain imagining', 'erroneous notion', 'misconception', the other being 'pride', 'conceit'. Both 'misconception' and 'conceit' are required to cover these two meanings here, but the full sense of the Sanskrit should be kept in mind whenever only one of them is encountered hereafter in the translation.

34 I.e. not differentiating between past, present, and future. Cf. T.416 (873c11): 'How should they become like a dream, by observing the three times as without coming or going?'

35 T.418 provides a more explanatory translation:'...divide themselves and travel to all *buddha-kṣetras* everywhere, as the reflection of the sun shining in water is visible everywhere.'

those who are undeluded by being similar to all Buddhas; (102) become those who understand true reality (Skt. *tathatā*) in that they are free of doubt and unable to be led astray by others as far as all dharmas are concerned; (103) become those who are capable of answering all questions and are able to teach [throughout] the three times; (104) become those who desire the welfare of others through obtaining great compassion (Skt. *karuṇā*); (105) become indefatigable in teaching the Dharma;

[1U] (106) become those who persist in not forsaking all beings; (107) become those who are unshakeable through guilelessness; (108) become those who are honest in being lamps for all worlds; (109) become those who are unlimited[36] in all the Triple World; (110) become those who dwell in peace through the examination of mere conventional expression; (111) become those who dwell in an unsullied state through joy in the absence of attachment; (112) become those who dwell in perfect truth (Skt. *bhūta-koṭi*) through being characterised by non-discrimination; (113) become those who teach the discourses of the Omniscient One by establishing all beings in the Mahāyāna; (114) become those who have attained fearlessness through being free of all fear and terror; (115) become those who are expert in the allusive utterances (Skt. *saṃdhā-bhāṣa*, etc.)[37] of the *Tathāgatas* in all the discourses on Dharma in the *sūtras*; (116) become those who show their faces everywhere by entering into all assemblies;

[1V] (117) become those who, in the Mahāyāna, are worshipped by all the inhabitants of the world, and who are lords of merit like the Omniscient One; (118) become those who, being worthy of the offerings of all the inhabitants of the world, possess inexhaustible good qualities; (119) become those who experience great joy and faith at the feet of the *Tathāgata*; (120) become those who have the inspired eloquence (Skt. *pratibhāna*) which makes them good at

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36 'Unlimited', 'immeasurable'(Tib. *tshad med pa*) = 'incomparable'? There seems to be some original confusion between *apramāṇa* and *apamāna* here, or so two Chinese versions suggest. T.416 (874a2-3) has: 'How should they become unable to be **despised**, through surpassing all the Triple World?' while T.419 (921a1-2) reads: '...and no-one in the whole Triple World can **take them lightly**.'

37 On this important term see especially Ruegg 1989.

asking questions about all the Buddha-dharmas; (121) become those who, by eliminating fear and anxiety in assemblies, are not fainthearted; (122) become those who are like roaring tigers in overthrowing all rival teachers; (123) become those who, in defeating all rival sects, do not violate their pledge; (124) become those who with the sanction of all the Buddhas frequently utter the Lion Roar and occupy the Lion Throne with a view to the demonstration and elegant discussion of the Dharma; (125) become those who through being aware of all entering into communication are not taught by any of the materialists [?];[38] (126) become those who are preachers of the True Dharma by being established in the causes of Buddhahood; (127) become those who aspire to the Dharma by attending upon the *Tathāgata* ; (128) become those who are indefatigable in doing honour to good friends (Skt. *kalyāṇa-mitra*); (129) become those who in wandering throughout the ten quarters have no abode; (130) become those who take on vows (Skt. *praṇidhāna*), in bringing all beings to maturity;

[1W] (131) become those who, in their skill in giving repose in the most excellent of jewels, have plunged into the sea of Dharma;[39] (132) become those who, through adorning all the world-systems in various ways, are not to be shaken from any world-systems;[40] (133) become those who enjoy great

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38 Cf. T.416 (874a19-21): 'How should they manage to avoid all senseless worldly words, by understanding all true teachings?' T.418 and T.419 are very obscure. The former (904a13) has: '[they] know fully the Buddha's ten thousand varieties of words, and enter completely into the ten thousand *koṭis* of sounds...'; while the latter (921a10) reads: '...[they] do not fall among all those in the world (在 世 = *lokāyatika*?); with all actions of speech they abide in the knowledge of entrances [?].' All this hardly serves to elucidate the Tibetan.

39 Tib. *rin po che'i mchog la ngal sos par bgyid pa la mkhas pas*, 'through skill in giving repose in [or: to] the most excellent of jewels', makes little sense; it is likely here that *viśrāṇana*, 'gift', 'donation', has been misread as *viśrāmaṇa*, 'causing to rest' (cf. *BHSD*, s.v. *viśrāmayati*), especially in light of the Chinese versions, e.g. T.416: 'How should they enter the sea of dharmas, through being able to give the treasure of the most excellent Dharma?'.

It should be noted here that in all Chinese versions 1W comes after 1X.

40 Or 'not to be shaken by them'? The Chinese points to an interpretation along these lines; e.g. T.416 has 'How shall they achieve all the practices of the world, through being able to eliminate worldly characteristics?', while T.418 and T.419 both suggest success in the world without contamination by it.

wonder-working power through their playful employment of the wonder-working power of a Buddha [?];[41] (134) become those who need only one instant of thought for a vision of the Buddhas;

[1X] (135) become those who, through having respect for the Dharma, are filled with cognition; (136) become those who resemble space in their understanding [of it as?] similar to the Body of Dharma (Skt. *dharma-kāya*);[42] (137) become those who, in ensuring that the lineage of the Buddha remains unbroken, are inspirers of *bodhisattvas*; (138) become those who never interrupt any of the practices of a *bodhisattva*; (139) become those who, being well-formed, swift, and thoroughbred, are armed with the great armour;[43] (140) become those who are consecrated, through consecration in omniscience on the level (Skt. *bhūmi*) of a *Tathāgata*, One with Ten Powers [?];[44] (141) become those who, by knowing the method by means of computation, understand all things subject to apperception [?];[45] (142) become those who, through the

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41 This quality is open to more than one explanation, and one can even accept the variant of N and P (see *Text*, 1W, n. 1) and hypothesise an original *buddha-prātihārya-vikurvaṇa-vikrīḍita-caryā*, 'the employment of the 'playful mastery' of miracles and magical transformations of a Buddha'. Sadly the Chinese versions are not instructive in this regard.

42 The Tib. is by no means clear to me. T.418 has 'attain the body of the treasury of scriptures [Dharma] (經 藏 身), signless (無 有 想) like empty space (虛 空).' T.419: '[become] like the sky (天= *ākāśa*) through the formlessness (無 形) of the body of Dharma (法 身).' T.416: 'How should they become like space, through the signlessness (無 得 想) of all dharmas?' For all their obscurities, the Chinese versions confirm the presence in the original of the terms 'signless' (*animitta*; not found in Tib.), 'body of Dharma' (*dharma-kāya*), and space (*ākāśa*). The most likely combination of these elements seems to me to be: 'become those who understand the Body of Dharma to be signless like space', but a question-mark must remain over this.

43 Perhaps 'harnessed with the great harness' is more apt here.

44 Here I accept L's obvious emendation of *pa'i* to *pa*, which enables us to construe *stobs bcu* (= Skt. *daśabala*) adjectivally. Although the *PraS* provides no evidence of a developed scheme of ten *bhūmis*, it is intriguing to note that in the *Mv* (see i.76.11 ff) the tenth and final *bhūmi* (in which the *bodhisattva* becomes a full Buddha or *Daśabala*) is known as *abhiṣeka*. See also *BHSD*, s.v. *abhiṣeka*.

45 *Sarva-saṃjñāgata* (*Mvy* 6705) indicated by Chinese: T.419 has 一 切 想 去, in which 去 must equal *-gata*. Cf. T.418, T.416: 一 切 所 想, 'all conceived

investigation of all modes of calculation, are familiar with all dissolution and formation; (143) become those who, through the practice of complete liberality, are neither fixated nor grasping; (144) become those who, being great masters of giving (Skt. *dāna-pati*) without regrets, are skilled in liberality;

[1Y] (145) become those who do not aspire to opportunities for rebirth in any of the states of being; (146) become those who see the Buddha-fields of Buddhas and Lords resident in other world-systems, and hear the Dharma, retaining it and not forgetting it, yet it is not [due to the operation of] the five extraordinary faculties (Skt. *abhijñā*), nor [due to the operation of] the six extraordinary faculties, nor are those *bodhisattvas* in those Buddha-fields after having passed away from this world-system, but those *bodhisattvas*, while staying in this very world-system, see the Buddhas and hear the Dharma, and retain it all, that is, just as I[46] am free of any doubt or uncertainty as I stand in the Lord's presence now, so too those *bodhisattvas* become those who are never deprived of the sight of the Buddhas or the hearing of the Dharma, even in their dreams--what is the *samādhi* [which produces all these qualities and abilities]?[47]

Chapter One of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

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things'.

46 It appears that T.416 has incorporated an erroneous gloss on 'I', since it has: 'Just as now the Reverend Ānanda...' The 'I', however, is Bhadrapāla, not Ānanda.

47 The length of this last sentence, its clumsy wording so structurally dissimilar from the foregoing material, and its anticipation of later elements in the text could suggest the interpolation of a gloss of some sort. If this is so, it must have taken place very early, since even the earliest Chinese translations have it.

CHAPTER TWO

[2A] When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāṣattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Well done, Bhadrapāla, well done! You, Bhadrapāla, have set out for the benefit of many beings, for the happiness of many beings, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the benefit, and the happiness of the great body of beings, of *devas* and of humankind, and you have done well, Bhadrapāla, in deciding to question the *Tathāgata* in such a way on this matter.'

'You, Bhadrapāla, have done your duty and created wholesome potentialities (Skt. *kuśala-mūla*) under former *Jinas*; you have worshipped many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of Buddhas; you aspire to the Dharma; you desire the Dharma; you lead the holy life in non-objectification;[1] you arouse *bodhisattvas*, delight *bodhisattvas*, teach *bodhisattvas*, inspire *bodhisattvas*, fill *bodhisattvas* with enthusiasm, instruct *bodhisattvas*, bring *bodhisattvas* to

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1 Cf. Conze 1973: 36: *anupalambha-ciracarita-brahmacarya. Upalambha* and *upalabdhi* are difficult terms to render into English, yet occur frequently in the *PraS*, usually in negative form, i.e. in Tib. *mi dmigs pa* and *dmigs su med pa*. Although Conze (q.v.) translates them as 'apprehension' or 'apprehension of a basis', this seems to me to be a rather good example of the opacity of 'Buddhist Hybrid English'. I have chosen the term 'objectification' (in the sense of undue conceptual reification) as being somewhat more readily 'apprehended', and closer too to the original meaning of the Tib. *dmigs pa*. In fact, wherever a word containing the element 'object' occurs in the translation, the reader may be sure that the Tibetan text has some form of the verb *dmigs pa*.

In this particular instance only D and R, by using the terminative construction *mi dmigs par*, indicate that the term is connected with *tshangs par spyod pa*. N, P, and L (*mi dmigs pa*) represent *anupalambha* as a separate adjective referring to Bhadrapāla, as does T.419 (921b3): 無所願援 'are without any desire to grasp'. I have chosen the reading of D and R as more faithful to the sense of what was probably the original Sanskrit compound. T.416 and T.418 do not have any equivalent for *mi dmigs par*, but T.416 contains an almost complete list of the *dhūta-guṇas* (see *BHSD*, s.v. Kāśyapa (2)). As for the *dhūta-guṇas* themselves, their appearance in the text could represent the inclusion of what was originally a gloss on *brahmacarya*, but note that their presence is also attested by the *SZPPSL* (68c16-17): 'Bhadrapāla is a householder-*bodhisattva* who is able to practise [as a] *dhūta*; the Buddha expounded the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sutra* to this *bodhisattva*...'. This is yet another example of the close relationship of Jñānagupta's text and that used by the author of the *SZPPSL*.

fulfilment; you desire the welfare of *bodhisattvas*, you have great compassion (Skt. *karuṇā*), you have equanimity towards all beings, possess the excellent perfection of complete mastery of the mind; possess the vision of the Buddhas, are great in vows, have the profound as your sphere of activity, aspire to omniscience (Skt. *sarvajñatā*), uphold awakening, teach the lineage of the *Tathāgata*, possess an aspiration to awakening (Skt. *bodhicitta*) like, similar, and comparable to *vajra*; are expert in the intent and behaviour of all beings, dwell in the presence of all Buddhas--Bhadrapāla, if one were to recount your good qualities, one would never come to an end.'

[2B] 'Bhadrapāla, there is a *samādhi* called "Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present"; if one preserves that *samādhi* without forgetting it, if one listens to it attentively and succeeds in being mentally undistracted, then those excellent qualities[2] will not be difficult to obtain.'

Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, would the *Tathāgata* therefore please expound that *samādhi*, which would be for the benefit of many beings, for the happiness of many beings, out of compassion for the world, and for the welfare, the benefit, and the happiness of the great body of beings, of *devas* and of humankind; and which would shed a great light for future *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas*.'[3]

Then the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'In that case, Bhadrapāla, listen well and consider it carefully, and I shall expound it to you.'

[2C] Saying:

'So be it, Lord,'

the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla and the world with its *devas*, humans, *asuras* and *gandharvas* listened to the Lord, and the Lord then said:

'Bhadrapāla, if one dharma is practised, cultivated, developed, frequently rehearsed, mastered, actively pursued, made to arise, made familiar, fully purified, fully concentrated on, and fully undertaken, then one will become distinguished by all good qualities. What is the the one dharma? Namely, the *samādhi* called "Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present", which

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2 I.e. the qualities enumerated by Bhadrapāla in Chapter 1 (1K-Y).

3 T.416 contains a considerably amplified version of this speech of Bhadrapāla (874c16-27).

brings to fulfilment the dharmas of which the first is great learning (Skt. *bāhu-śrutya*).'[4]

[T.418: Chapter Two, Practice]

[2D] 'Bhadrapāla, what then is the *samādhi* called "Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present"? Namely, (1) concentration (Skt. *manasikāra*) on thoughts which have the Buddha as their object; (2) absence of mental distraction; (3) obtaining mindful engagement and wisdom; (4) not renouncing vigour (Skt. *vīrya*); (5) attending on good friends (Skt. *kalyāṇa-mitra*); (6) practising, cultivating, and rehearsing emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*); (7) elimination of the obscurations (Skt. *āvaraṇa*); (8) elimination of torpor and drowsiness; (9) avoidance of talk; (10) shunning bad friends; (11) keeping company with good friends; (12) undistracted faculties; (13) moderation in eating; (14) having the vigour not to sleep during the first or the last watch of the night; (15) absence of attachment to robes, food, beds and seats, medicine to cure the sick, and personal belongings; (16) not giving up living in the forest; (17) not attaching any importance to one's person; (18) disregarding one's own life; (19) self-sacrifice; (20) being of service to beings;

[2E] (21) renouncing kin; (22) keeping away from one's birthplace; (23) practising friendliness (Skt. *maitrī*); (24) obtaining compassion; (25) abiding in sympathetic joy (Skt. *muditā*); (26) developing disinterestedness (Skt. *upekṣā*); (27) elimination of the secondary defilements (Skt. *upakleśa*); (28) perfection of the trances (Skt. *dhyāna*) without indulgence in them; (29) meditational deconstruction (Skt. *vibhāvanā*) of the apperception (Skt. *saṃjñā*) of form; (30) acquiring the apperception of repulsiveness; (31) unwavering mindfulness (Skt. *smṛti*); (32) not grasping the aggregates (Skt. *skandha*); (33) absence of misconception (Skt. *manyanā*) with regard to the elements (Skt. *dhātu*); (34) being unattached to the sense-fields (Skt. *āyatana*); (35) not boasting of one's high birth; (36) eradication of pride; (37) being without envy of the possessions of others; (38) being a basis for the welfare of beings; (39) equanimity towards all beings; (40) not forsaking all beings; (41) emancipating all beings;

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4 See n. 2.2.

[2F] (42) apperception of all beings as oneself; (43) apperception of all beings as one's mother; (44) apperception of them as one's father; (45) apperception of them as one's son; (46) apperception of them as one's kin; (47) perception of all beings as undefiled (Skt. *niḥkleśa*); (48) not grasping at any existing things (Skt. *bhāva*? *vastu*?); (49) absence of undue attachment to morality (Skt. *śīla*); (50) cultivation of *samādhi*; (51) desiring great learning (Skt. *bāhu-śrutya*) yet not being made conceited by it; (52) flawlessness in the constituent of morality (Skt. *śīla-skandha*); (53) immovability in the constituent of *samādhi*; (54) not doubting the dharmas; (55) being in harmony with the Buddha; (56) not rejecting the Dharma; (57) not causing schism in the Saṅgha; (58) avoiding slanderous talk; (59) entering the presence of the Holy Ones (Skt. *ārya*) and attending upon them; (60) shunning fools; (61) not enjoying, taking no pleasure in, and avoiding worldy (Skt. *laukika*) talk; (62) enjoying, taking pleasure in, liking, and employing talk which transcends the world (Skt. *lokottara*); (63) eliminating meaningless babble;[5]

[2G] (64) practice of the six dharmas of agreeability [?];[6] (65) pleasant speech;

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5 *Gtam rgyud* is given as *ākhyāna* ('communication', 'tradition') by *Mvy* 7128, but I am by no means sure what exactly the Tibetan translators intended here by *gtam rgyud ma yin pa*. The Chinese versions are initially puzzling, to say the least:

> T.418 (904c9-10): 'not wanting to hear that by which animals are born (從因緣畜生生不欲聞)[?]'
>
> T.419 (921c5): 'avoiding and rejecting the sounds of animals (畜生音)'
>
> T.416 (875a22): 'although hearing words spoken, the mind does not like listening to them.'

In fact, however, T.418 and T.419 both provide the clue to the Sanskrit original, which must be related to the Pāli *tiracchāna-kathā* (see *PTSD*, s.v.), 'animal talk', i.e. wrong or foolish talk in general, see e.g. S.v.419. T418 is possibly to be construed as incorporating a gloss explaining why such babble is so designated. I am indebted to Lambert Schmithausen for the clarification of this phrase.

6 Here we strike a less than agreeable problem. The Chinese versions read as follows:

> T.418 (904c10): 'studying the six tastes (六味)'
>
> T.419 (921c5): 'studying the six firm dharmas (六堅法)'
>
> T.416 (875a23): 'not becoming attached to the six tastes of the

(66) elimination of the five obscurations (Skt. *āvaraṇa*); (67) practice of the five stages of emancipation (Skt. *vimokṣāyatana*); (68) comprehension of the five aggregates; (69) rejection of the ten unwholesome modes of action; (70) development of the ten wholesome modes of action; (71) perfection of the ten powers; (72) removal of the nine bases of ill-will (Skt. *āghāta-vastu*); (73) meditational cultivation (Skt. *vibhāvanā*) of the nine apperceptions;[7] (74) elimination of the eight bases of sloth; (75) cultivation of the eight bases of exertion; (76) practice of the eight stages of sovereignty;[8] (77) development of the eight emancipations (Skt. *vimokṣa*); (78) acquisition of the eight reflections of the Great Man (Skt. *mahāpuruṣa*);[9] (79) harmony with the holy eightfold path; (80) non-attachment to trance; (81) absence of conceit in learning; (82) conquest of pride; (83) desire to hear the Dharma; (84) desire for the Dharma; (85) aspiration to the Dharma; (86) longing for the Dharma; (87) being bent upon the Dharma; (88) being intent upon the Dharma; (89) being inclined to the Dharma; (90) applying oneself to the Dharma;

[2H] (91) freedom from conceit due to the apperception of self; (92) rejection of the apperception of a being (Skt. *sattva-saṃjñā*); (93) not objectifying the apperception of a life; (94) elimination of the apperception of a person; (95)

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world (世間六味)' [The translation appears to be defective around this point.]

The exact relationship between the six 'dharmas of agreeability', the six 'firm dharmas' and the six 'tastes' eludes me at present, but what is probably intended here is the group of six (in Pāli) *sārāṇīya dhammā*, in BHS *sārāyaṇīya-dharma* / *saṃrañjanīya-dharma*, i.e. the six sociable or agreeable rules of conduct (for which see *BD*, p. 5080b-c). Perhaps T.419 has confused *sārāyaṇīya* with some form of *sāra* (adj.), 'hard', 'firm', 'solid'. Note that the *SZBBSL* (87c3) has: 'cultivate the six dharmas of deference (和敬).'

7 I.e. the nine *aśubha-bhāvanā*, or meditations on repulsiveness. See below, 3J. The Sanskrit term *vibhāvanā* is ambiguous, as is suggested by its two Tibetan renditions (*rnam par 'jig pa* or *rnam par sgom pa*; see e.g. *Mvy* 6360, Conze 1973: 359), being either a specific term for the systematic destruction or dismantling of views, concepts, etc. in meditation (here translated as 'meditational deconstruction'; see e.g. 2E) or a general term for meditation on a par with *bhāvanā* (in this sense: 'meditational cultivation').

8 See *BD*, pp. 4213c-4214b, on the eight stages of sovereignty (Skt. *abhibhvāyatana*).

9 See *BD*, pp. 4217c-4218a, where these are described.

removal of the apperception of aggregates; (96) not abiding in the apperception of existents; (97) not desiring Nirvāṇa; (98) not desiring the aggregates; (99) apperception of transmigration (Skt. *saṃsāra*) as a dreadful horror; (100) apperception of the aggregates as executioners; (101) apperception of the elements as poisonous snakes; (102) apperception of the sense-fields (Skt. *āyatana*) as an empty village; (103) apperception of the Triple World as misery; (104) seeing Nirvāṇa as a blessing; (105) apperception of desires as something to be got rid of like a lump of phlegm; (106) apperception of food as disagreeable; (107) being intent on retiring from the world; (108) taking no pleasure in the household life; (109) perception of sons and daughters as one's enemies; (110) apperception of one's wife as a demoness;

[2I] (111) unbroken faith in the Buddha's teaching; (112) absence of antagonism towards all beings; (113) being of no fixed abode in all world-systems; (114) being face to face with all Buddhas; (115) being properly ordained and leading the holy life (Skt. *brahma-carya*) well; (116) understanding all bodies;[10] (117) purity of conviction (Skt. *adhimukti*); (118) virtuous resolve; (119) mental flexibility; (120) renunciation of improper endeavours; (121) engagement in proper endeavours; (122) removal of all signs (Skt. *nimitta*); (123) sameness of [attitude towards] the three times; (124) calling to mind all the Buddhas; (125) generation of all wholesome potentialities; (126) empowerment (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*) by all the Buddhas; (127) mastery of all *samādhis*; (128) non-attachment to the Buddha's bodily marks; (129) sameness of [attitude toward] all dharmas; (130) not disputing with the world; (131) not being averse to one's duties; (132) comprehension of conditioned production (Skt. *pratītya-samutpāda*); (133) acquisition of patient acceptance (Skt. *kṣānti*) of the stage of the *Tathāgata* on the road to deliverance;

[2J] (134) entrance to the dharma-realm (Skt. *dharma-dhātu*); (135) comprehension of the element of space (Skt. *ākāśa-dhātu*); (136) absence of fixation with regard to the realm of beings (Skt. *sattva-dhātu*), [and seeing it as] without production, cessation or duration;[11] (137) direct realisation of the realm of Nirvāṇa; (138) purification of the eye of wisdom; (139) [realisation of the]

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10 All Chinese versions add: 'as resembling a dream'.

11 These terms could also apply to the following 'realm of Nirvāṇa'; I have been guided here by the Chinese translations.

non-duality of all dharmas; (140) aspiration to awakening which has no boundaries and no centre; (141) focussing of the mind (Skt. *cetasa ekotībhāva*?); (142) entrance into unobstructed cognition with [?] all the Buddhas;[12] (143) cognition free of the obscurations; (144) ripeness of the mind for awakening; (145) independent cognition of a Buddha; (146) apperception of good friends as the Teacher; (147) not causing schisms among *bodhisattvas*; (148) rejection of the deeds of Māra; (149) [seeing] the similarity of all the world to an apparition; (150) [seeing] the similarity of the vision of the *Tathāgatas* to a reflection; (151) striving for the aspiration to awakening; (152) equanimity towards the perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*); (153) [seeing] the sameness of the vision of the *Tathāgatas* and perfect truth (Skt. *bhūta-koṭi*); (154) [seeing] the sameness for all Buddhas of all virtuous qualities--this, Bhadrapāla, is the *samādhi* called "Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present".'

Chapter Two of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

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12 Or perhaps 'cognition not inimical (Skt. *apratihata*) to all the Buddhas.' The problem here is the significance of *sangs rgyas thams cad dang*. The Chinese translations all appear to have taken *sarva-buddha* as connected with the preceding *cetasa ekotībhāva*, which we might then interpret loosely as 'mental identification with all the Buddhas' or perhaps 'the mental concentration of all Buddhas'. However, the wording of the Chinese is rather obscure; see T.416 (875b13), T.418 (904c27), and T.419 (921c23-24).

CHAPTER THREE

[3A] 'Bhadrapāla, since those dharmas will produce *samādhi*, what then, Bhadrapāla, is the *samādhi* which is produced by those dharmas? It is the *samādhi* called "Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present."'

'And what, Bhadrapāla, is the *samādhi* called "Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present"? In this regard, Bhadrapāla, any *bhikṣus* or *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* or *upāsikās* who observe morality perfectly should go alone to a secluded spot, sit down, and think: "In which quarter does the Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus[1] live, dwell, reside, and teach the Dharma?" In accordance with what they have learned they concentrate on the thought: "That Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus now resides, lives, dwells and teaches the Dharma, surrounded and attended on by a host of *bodhisattvas*, in the world-system of Sukhāvatī,[2] one hundred thousand *koṭis* of Buddha-fields to the west of this Buddha-field;" and they concentrate their thoughts on the *Tathāgata* with

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1 As I have pointed out elsewhere (Harrison 1978a), the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* is not devoted exclusively to Amitāyus; rather, he appears as an example, as one of the many possible objects of the *samādhi*. His employment here, however, does suggest that at the time when the *PraS* was composed he was thought of as the *pratyutpanna-buddha par excellence*, and that his cult was well-developed.

Amitāyus ('Infinite Life') and Amitābha ('Infinite Light') are functionally interchangeable names for the same Buddha. Amitāyus (Tshe dpag med) is the form usually found in the Tibetan text, although Amitābha ('Od dpag med) occasionally appears as a variant (e.g. *Text*, 3E, n. 1); the Chinese equivalent, Amituo 阿彌陀, is neutral, since it renders only the first element of the name, viz. Amita-. For a discussion of the names Amitāyus/Amitābha and their Tibetan and Chinese equivalents, see Yamada 1968:I, pp. 175-188.

2 Sukhāvatī, Tib. Bde ba can, the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amitābha, is described at length in the Mahāyāna *sūtra* devoted to its glorification, the *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha*. For parallels with the brief description of Sukhāvatī's location given here, see *Sukh*, p. 26, lines 15-18, or *Smaller Sukh* (Vaidya's edition), p. 254, lines 14-16.

T.416 (875c2) translates Sukhāvatī by 安樂, but T.418 and T.419 both have 須摩提 (Xumoti), common in early Chinese translations, which is to be reconstructed as Sukhāmatī (see *BD*, pp. 94a-b & 1157b-c; see also Brough 1962: 88-90).

undistracted minds.'

[3B] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, some men or women in dreams while sleeping see various material forms, see silver, gold, friends, kinfolk, maternal relations, or companions that are pleasing, dear, and not disagreeable to them, and in those dreams they dream of playing, dallying, and amusing themselves with them, of speaking and conversing with them. When they wake up they relate to others all those things and people that they saw, heard, thought, were conscious of, spoke and conversed with; and they shed tears at recalling the things which appeared (Skt. *nimitta*) in their dreams. In the same way, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas*, whether they be householders or renunciants, go alone to a secluded spot and sit down, and in accordance with what they have learned they concentrate their thoughts on the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus; flawless in the constituent of morality and unwavering in mindfulness they should concentrate their thoughts on him for one day and one night, or for two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven days and nights. If they concentrate their thoughts with undistracted minds on the *Tathāgata* Amitāyus for seven days and nights, then, when a full seven days and nights have elapsed, they see the Lord and *Tathāgata* Amitāyus. Should they not see that Lord during the daytime, then the Lord and *Tathāgata* Amitāyus will show his face to them in a dream while they are sleeping.'

[3C] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, women or men in dreams while sleeping neither know if they are at home nor know if they are elsewhere, and their faculty of sight is not obstructed by walls, nor is it darkened or obscured.[3] In the same way, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* too conceive a thought in such a way that the spaces between worlds do not obstruct them, that Sumeru, King of Mountains, the Cakravāḍa and the Greater Cakravāḍa, Kings of Mountains, and similarly the Black Mountains do not obstruct their faculty of sight; those *bodhisattvas* do not see the *Tathāgata* through obtaining divine vision, do not hear the True Dharma through obtaining the divine faculty of hearing, and do not travel instantaneously to that world-system through

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3 The Tib. translation appears to be defective here. All Chinese versions indicate that the original had 'nor can darkness obscure it' (possibly Skt. *andhakāratamisrita*, see *BHSD*, s.v.). According to them the dreamers are further described as 'not knowing whether it is night or day.'

obtaining magic power, but while remaining in this very world-system, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* see that Lord and *Tathāgata* Amitāyus, perceive themselves as being in that world-system, and also hear the Dharma. And they retain, master, and preserve those dharmas after hearing them expounded. They honour, revere, venerate and worship that Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus. And on emerging from that *samādhi* the *bodhisattvas* expound at length to others those dharmas, just as they have heard, retained, and mastered them.'[4]

[3D] BAMPO TWO

'For example, Bhadrapāla, one man living in the great city of Rājagṛha

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[4] Because of the importance of the content of 3C and the occasionally difficult wording of the Tibetan, it might be helpful to give one of the early Chinese versions of this passage. T.419 (922a17-27) reads:

> Just as the above-mentioned dreaming persons, who think of themselves as dwelling in space, do not think "night" and do not think "day", and their faculty of sight is not obstructed by walls nor obscured by darkness, so it is, Bhadrapāla, with the *bodhisattvas* who perform an act of thought like this, so that, in the spaces between Buddha-fields, although there are Mt. Sumerus, and there are Cakravāḍa and Mahācakravāḍa Mountains as well as other Black Mountains, these cannot obstruct their eyesight, nor can they obstruct their thoughts. Without having obtained divine vision, the *bodhisattvas* see the Buddha Amitābha; without having obtained divine hearing, they hear the *sūtra*/dharma expounded by the Buddha Amitābha; without having obtained magic power, they succeed in going to Amitābha's Buddha-field. The *bodhisattvas* also do not die from here to go to be born there. Simply staying in this world as before, they see the Buddha, the *Tathāgata* Amitābha, and hear him expounding the Dharma. As they have heard it they take it up. The *bodhisattvas* then wake from this concentration, and then expound widely to others the Dharma as they have heard it.

Note the absence in the Tib. text of the statement denying the fact that the *bodhisattvas* have to die before they can see Amitābha; this occurs, however, in all Chinese versions (cf. 1Y). T.418 is as usual very close to T.419, while T.416 is simply more detailed, and also mentions the 'worshipping' of the Buddha (which is not found in the two early versions). Note that Tsukamoto 1985: II, 850-851 & 855-856 contains an English translation (by Hurvitz) of most of Chap. 3 in T.418.

heard that there was a courtesan in the city of Vaiśālī called Sumanā; a second man heard that there was a courtesan called Āmrapālī; and a third man heard that there was a former courtesan called Utpalavarṇā. Having heard of them they fell in love with them, each with each; without those men ever having seen those courtesans, but just through hearing of their names, appearance, and beauty, they came to have lustful thoughts. While repeatedly thinking about them, they went to sleep, and in their dreams they perceived themselves as having visited those courtesans, so that, in accordance with the lustful thoughts which those men conceived while they were awake in the great city of Rājagṛha, when they fell asleep those men dreamt in a dream that they saw those courtesans, consorted with them, indulged in sexual intercourse, and were relieved of their sexual desire. On waking up they remembered what they had experienced in their dreams, as they had seen, heard, known and perceived it, Bhadrapāla, and coming to you they related those things to you. Having heard those things you taught the Dharma to them by means of this very teaching, so that they would become unable to regress from supreme and perfect awakening. I too predicted that at a future time those men would become *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones under the name of *Suvibuddha.[5] Although those men have attained patient acceptance (Skt. *kṣānti*), they still see

5 This reconstruction is entirely conjectural: no Chinese version transliterates the Sanskrit, all of them translating it as 'Well-awakened' (see Glossary, s.v. *Suvibuddha).

and recall those former appearances.'[6]

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6 The expression *pūrva-nimitta* (*sngon gyi mtshan ma*) refers presumably to those things which appeared to the three men in their dreams, apparitions so vivid and yet so empty of independent reality as to remain suitable objects of spiritual practice for them even after they have turned their minds to higher things (I am indebted to Lambert Schmithausen for this suggestion). The Chinese, however, is not very helpful in determining the exact sense of this passage. T.418 lacks an equivalent; T.419 (922b9): 'Those men, having just obtained patience [for 恣 read 忍], see the characteristics [for 想 read 相 = *nimitta*] thus, truly see them thus'; T.416 (876a20-21): 'Thus the three men, having obtained patience, further remember things of the past and distinguish them clearly.'

The *DZDL* (110b9-19) contains a paraphrase of this section of the *PraS*; Lamotte's translation of it (*Traité* I, pp. 425-426) runs:

> Ainsi, au temps du Buddha, trois frères, l'aîné, le second et le dernier, entendirent parler de trois courtisanes (*veśyā*): *Ngan lo p'o li* (Āmrapālī) du pays de Vaiśālī, *Siu man na* (Sumanā) de Śrāvastī et *Yeou po lo p'an na* (Utpalavarṇā) de Rājagṛha. Les trois frères, entendant chacun vanter la beauté incomparable de ces trois femmes, y pensaient jour et nuit et ne pouvaient en détacher leur pensée. En songe, ils rêvèrent qu'ils les possédaient. Une fois réveillés, ils se dirent: "Ces femmes ne sont pas venues à nous et nous ne sommes pas allés à elles; pourtant le plaisir s'est produit. À cause de lui, nous nous sommes éveillés. Tous les Dharma sont-ils de ce genre?". Alors ils se rendirent auprès du bodhisattva *P'o t'o p'o lo* (Bhadrapāla) pour l'interroger sur cette affaire. Bhadrapāla leur dit: "Tous les Dharma sont bien ainsi; ils sont tous issus de la pensée"; puis il expliqua adroitement (*upāyena*) à ces trois hommes la vacuité (*śūnyatā*) des Dharma, et tous trois devinrent des [Bodhisattva] sans régression (*avaivartika*).

It can be seen that the author of the *DZDL* has taken this parable from the *PraS* and made explicit what had originally been unstated, namely, the realisation which the three men experience because of their dream, and the way in which Bhadrapāla interprets their experience for them. The key term in this passage is *kṣānti*, i.e. *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*. The three dreamers of Rājagṛha are represented as generalising the unreality of their dream-experience into an appreciation of the fundamental unreality of all phenomena, the realisation, in other words, of the fact that no dharma is ever 'produced'. *Anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* is thus an important concept in the *PraS* (see Glossary, also s.v. *kṣānti*, for other occurrences of the term), and the fact that its attainment is coupled with the practice of the *samādhi* was no doubt one of the principal reasons why Mahāyāna theorists assigned the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* to the eighth *bhūmi* (see Introduction)--the *bhūmi* traditionally distinguished by the concepts of *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*, *vyākaraṇa*, and *avaivartika* (see Lamotte 1965: 157;

[3E] 'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who possessed[7] this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present heard of the Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus, while they were in this very world-system. Having simply heard of that *Tathāgata*'s name, appearance, and qualities, with undistracted thoughts they called to mind the Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus. By repeatedly concentrating on him they saw that *Tathāgata*. Established in the *bodhisattvas*' *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, when they saw that *Tathāgata*, they asked the question:

"Lord, what dharmas must *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* possess to be reborn in this world-system [of yours]?"

In this way whenever one wishes to be reborn in any Buddha-field, one asks the *Tathāgata* [of that Buddha-field].'[8]

[3F] 'Having been asked this question, the Lord and *Tathāgata* Amitāyus said to those *bodhisattvas*:

"Sons of good family, if the calling to mind of the Buddha (Skt. *buddhānusmṛti*) is practised, cultivated, developed and rehearsed, then one is reborn in this world-system. If the calling to mind of the Buddha is practised, cultivated, developed and rehearsed, then one will be reborn in this Buddha-

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also p.208, n. 209). And here in section 3D we do indeed have all these three elements.

Another point of interest in the *DZDL* passage is that whereas all versions of the *PraS* mention only Vaiśālī in connection with Sumanā, it names a city for each courtesan (see Lamotte's translation above). Although Āmrapālī is traditionally associated with Vaiśālī (see *DPPN*, s.v. Ambapālī), the other two courtesans are otherwise unknown.

See also Lamotte, *ibid.* n. 1, for citations of similar passages concerning dream-experiences in the *Pitṛputrasamāgama-sūtra* and the *Bhava-saṃkrānti-sūtra*.

7 Note that the tense of 3E-3G is problematical, i.e., these sections might conceivably be referring to a present or future sequence of events. Although the verb forms used in the text do not give a clear indication, I have taken them as either past or historical present forms, as this seems to give a better fit with 3D.

8 This final sentence, not attested in any of the Chinese versions, is clearly a gloss that has found its way into the text.

field.

What then, sons of good family, is the calling to mind of the Buddha? It is when one concentrates on the *Tathāgata* in this way: 'He, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One, the Accomplished in Knowledge and Conduct, the *Sugata*, the Knower of the World, the Leader of All Men Capable of Conversion, the Supreme One, the Teacher of *Devas* and Humankind, the Buddha and Lord,[9] endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man and a body with a colour like gold, resembling a bright, shining, and well-set golden image, and well adorned like a bejewelled pillar, teaches the Dharma in the midst of an assembly of *śrāvakas*, that is, teaches to the effect that nothing perishes. What does not perish? Earth does not perish. Water, fire, air, beings (Skt. *bhūta*), the *devas*, Brahmā[10] and Prajāpati do not perish. Form does not perish. Feelings, apperception, predispositions, and consciousness do not perish;'[11] and one does not misconceive, does not objectify (Skt. *upalabhyate*),

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9 For these titles of a Buddha, see *Traité* I, pp. 126-144. The ten titles (or synonyms: *adhivacana*) are a traditional part of prescriptions for *buddhānusmṛti*, both in Pāli and Sanskrit. See also *Traité* III, pp. 1340ff. Note that this section, along with much of the rest of the chapter, is summarised in the *DZDL*, 276a17-c13 (*Traité* IV, pp. 1926-1930).

10 Before *skye dgu'i bdag po* Tib. has *bram ze*, which renders Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*, i.e. a member of the brahman class. All Chinese versions, however, indicate that the original text had Brahmā or Mahābrahma. The Tib. must therefore be based upon a misreading of the Skt. at some point, and I have corrected accordingly. My reading is supported by the similar sequence of terms in the Pāli sources, see e.g. the *Mūlapariyāya-sutta* (M.i.1ff.), where the full list runs as follows: earth, water, fire, wind, beings, devas, Pajāpati, Brahmā, and then the various higher states of existence, down to *nibbāna*. This catalogue of the fundamental elements of existence sometimes appears in the Pāli in shortened form (see e.g. M.i.327-330), as it does here.

11 For a closely parallel passage, one which possibly goes back to the *PraS* itself or to a common source, see the *Ratnacandra-paripṛcchā-sūtra* (translated into Chinese between 982 and 1017 by Dānapāla) which at one point describes a number of Buddha-fields and their resident Buddhas according to the following pattern (the wording is taken from the Derge version, Mdo Ba, 161b5-162a2; I am indebted to G. Schopen for the reference):

> *de na de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas dpal bzang po zhes bya ba da ltar bzhugs shing 'tsho la gzhes te / byang chub sems dpa'i tshogs kyis bskor cing / byang chub sems dpas mdun gyis bltas pa / rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa / bde bar gshegs pa / 'jig rten mkhyen pa / skyes bu gdul bya'i kha lo*

does not fixate on, does not falsely perceive, does not falsely imagine, does not falsely discriminate, and does not review the *Tathāgata*:[12] when in this way one obtains the *samādhi* of emptiness by concentrating on the *Tathāgata* without objectification, that is known as the calling to mind of the Buddha."'

[3G] 'After they developed that *samādhi* and concentrated themselves in that *samādhi*, those *bodhisattvas*, when they emerged from that *samādhi*, came to you, Bhadrapāla, and told you about that *samādhi*. Then, Bhadrapāla, you taught the Dharma so that those *bodhisattvas* became unable to regress from supreme and perfect awakening. Then I also predicted that at a future time those men would become *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones under the name of *Prāptapratibhāna.'[13]

'Bhadrapāla, you yourself, the Elder Mahākāśyapa, the *bodhisattva* Indradatta, the *bodhisattva* Susīma[14] and, moreover, the *bodhisattvas* who have obtained this *samādhi*, have gained mastery from this *samādhi*.'

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sgyur ba / bla na med pa / lha dang mi rnams kyi ston pa / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis kyis brgyan pa'i sku / gser legs par btsos shing legs par dul ba lta bu / rin po che'i rgyan legs par bkod pa bzhin du 'khor gyi nang na mdzes par bzhugs shing / thog mar dge ba / bar du dge ba / tha mar dge ba'i chos ston to // 'di skad ces kyang ston te / 'di ltar sa'i khams ni med par mi 'gyur ro // de bzhin du chu'i khams dang / me'i khams dang / rlung gi khams dang / skye dgu'i bdag po tshangs pa dang / gzugs dang / tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / rnam par shes pa med par mi 'gyur ro zhes ston to //

Here again the Tibetan translators have faltered with Prajāpati and Brahmā, but otherwise the wording is remarkably close to that of the *PraS*. That the basic elements of existence 'do not perish' (*chud mi gzon*) or 'do not cease to exist' (*med par mi 'gyur*) is presumably to be understood as a formulation of a non-substantialist rather than eternalist position.

12 The preceding seven terms for inappropriate cognitive responses to experience do not appear in T.418 or T.419, while T.416 has only two of them (the first two?).

13 This reconstruction of Tib. *spobs pa rnyed pa* is hypothetical. However, *spobs* most often renders *pratibhāna* ('inspired eloquence'), while T.416 (876c7), which has 德 (read: 得) 光明 , suggests the same word taken in its meaning of 'brilliance', 'radiance'. T.418 does not have this *vyākaraṇa*.

14 All Chinese versions: the *devaputra* Susīma.

[3H] 'Bhadrapāla, formerly, in the past,[15] a certain man travelled into a deserted wilderness, and having become hungry and thirsty was overcome by torpor and lethargy; he fell asleep, and in a dream obtained a great quantity of food and drink. On obtaining it he ate his fill, and his hunger and thirst vanished. When he awoke, neither his body nor his belly had grown any larger, and so he thought: "There exist certain dharmas which are so, that is, like a dream;"[16] understanding that to be so he obtained the patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are not produced (Skt. *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*); and he also became unable to regress from supreme and perfect awakening.'

In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas*, whether they are householders or renunciants, hear that a *Tathāgata* resides in such and such a quarter, and concentrate their thoughts on the *Tathāgata* in that quarter, they will obtain a vision of the Buddha. They should not entertain the apperception of an existing thing, but should entertain the apperception of empty space; being properly established in the apperception of empty space, by concentrating their thoughts on the apperception of a Buddha, those *bodhisattvas* will see the *Tathāgata* face to face, beautiful and resembling an image of beryl;[17] those

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15 So also T.419, but T.418 (905b24) and T.416 (876c11-12) differ. E.g. T.418: 'Bhadrapāla, once, in the past, there was a Buddha called Xubori 須波日;at that time a certain person, etc...' T.416 has the same characters for the past Buddha's name, which could be regarded as a suspicious co-incidence, given the fact that it usually translates names in preference to transliterating them.

16 The wording of the Tib. is rather convoluted. Cf. T.418 (905b26): 'Everything that exists is like a dream.'

17 It is difficult to know what is intended here. *Sku gzugs*, 'image', suggests *pratimā* but *vaiḍūrya-pratima* could equally well mean 'like beryl'. Certainly the Chinese versions do not speak of images:

> T.418 (905c2-3): 'like a gem placed upon beryl (?), thus the *bodhisattvas* see in the ten quarters countless Buddhas clearly.'
>
> T.416 (876c22): 'they succeed in seeing that Buddha, whose brilliance is as translucent as clear beryl.' (but cf. 3I)
>
> T.419 (922c4-5): 'clear [or: pure] as beryl, chief among gems, thus they reflect and then see the *Tathāgatas*.'

While allowing the sense of the Tibetan to stand, we must admit the possibility that the Sanskrit merely likened the clarity of the vision of the Buddha to that of beryl, a gem renowned for its brilliance and transparency (see below, 16G). For the identification of *vaiḍūrya* (Pāli *veḷuriya*) with beryl, see Master 1943-

bodhisattvas will see such a *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One.'

[3I] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, a certain man travelled from his native land to another country, and arriving there he called to mind his native land; while concentrating his thoughts on things as he used to see, hear, know, and perceive them he was overcome by torpor and lethargy, and fell asleep; in a dream he travelled to his native land and perceived himself to be there, and he saw those things just as he formerly used to see, hear, discern and be aware of them; he went both to and from that place. Waking up, he reported those things in the company of his relatives, friends, kinsfolk, and maternal relations,[18] saying:

"Thus did I go, these things I saw, these things I experienced in that place."'

'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas*, whether they are householders or renunciants, should, when they hear that a *Tathāgata* resides in such and such a quarter, concentrate on the *Tathāgata* in that quarter with mindfulness and undistracted thoughts, in order to obtain a vision of the Buddha. In that way those *bodhisattvas* will see the *Tathāgata* [like] a beautifully set up beryl image [?].'[19]

[3J] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, when a *bhikṣu* performing the meditation on the repulsive[20] sees in front of him bloated corpses, when he sees in front of him corpses that have turned blue, that are putrefied, that are bloody, that are gnawed, that the flesh has peeled from, or that have no flesh or blood, or are white, or the colour of shells, or those that are skeletons, then those things--from the blue corpse to the skeleton--have not come from anywhere, nor have they gone anywhere. They are not made by anyone, nor are they made to cease by anyone, yet, Bhadrapāla, by that *bhikṣu*'s mastery of mental focussing he sees the skeleton lying in front of him.'

46: 304ff.

18 On the basis of the Tib. one could quite justifiably construe *gnyen 'dab...snag gi gnyen mtshams mams kyi nang du* as part of the speech of the man who travels in his dreams; all Chinese versions, however, support the paragraphing as I have given it in the *Text*.

19 The Tib. is not entirely clear; cf. n. 3.17; the Chinese is much the same as for 3H, except for T.416 (877a3-4): 'will see that Buddha, whose image (形像) is either like beryl or the colour of pure gold.'

20 Skt. *aśubha-bhāvanā*, for which see e.g. *Traité* III, pp. 1311ff.

'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, whatever quarter *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones might dwell in, those *bodhisattvas* who are supported by the Buddha and established in this *samādhi* concentrate their minds on that quarter, in order to obtain a vision of the Buddhas. By concentrating their minds on that quarter they see the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones in that quarter. Why is that? Namely, Bhadrapāla, this obtaining of a vision of the Buddhas is the natural outcome of this *samādhi*. *Bodhisattvas* who are established in this *samādhi* see the *Tathāgatas*, and they appear to them, through the combination and concurrence of these three things: the might (Skt. *anubhāva*) of the Buddha, the application of the force of their own wholesome potentialities, and the power [which is the result] of attaining *samādhi*.'

[3K] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, there are certain women or men with a natural bent for washing their hair and putting on jewellery, who might decide to look at themselves in a vessel of clear oil, or a vessel of clear water, or a well-polished round mirror, or a patch of ground smeared with azurite [?].[21] If they see therein their own forms, Bhadrapāla, what do you think? Does that appearance of the forms of the men or women in the vessel of clear oil, or vessel of clear water, or well-polished round mirror, or patch of ground smeared with azurite mean that there are men or women who have gone inside those things or entered them?'

Bhadrapāla said:

'No, Reverend Lord, it does not. Rather, Reverend Lord, because the oil and water are clear and undisturbed, or the round mirror is highly polished, or the patch of earth smeared with azurite is clean, the reflections stand forth; the bodies of the men or women have not arisen from the water, oil, mirror, or

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21 I do not know exactly what is meant by *mthing bus bskus pa'i sa phyogs* (below: *sa chen po*). All Chinese versions have 水精, i.e. 'crystal', e.g. T.418 (905c20): 無瑕水精, 'flawless crystal', and none of them mentions the smeared patch of ground. According to *TMCM mthing* stands for the blue pigment derived from the mineral azurite (Tib. *mthing rdo*), which can also form a semiprecious stone of the same name. Perhaps *mthing bu* is another name for this stone, or for the (presumably reflective) pigment made from it, but I have not found it elsewhere, nor does a likely Sanskrit equivalent suggest itself. (For the compound *mthing zhing Mvy* 5921 has *rājapaṭṭa*, which according to MW is 'a kind of precious stone or diamond of inferior quality'.)

patch of earth, they have not come from anywhere nor gone anywhere, they have not been produced from anywhere, nor have they disappeared anywhere.'

[3L] The Lord said:

'Well done, well done, Bhadrapāla! You have done well, Bhadrapāla. So it is, Bhadrapāla. As you have said, because the forms are good and clear the reflections appear. In the same manner, when those *bodhisattvas* have cultivated this *samādhi* properly, those *Tathāgatas* are seen by the *bodhisattvas* with little difficulty. Having seen them they ask questions, and are delighted by the answering of those questions.[22] In thinking: "Did these *Tathāgatas* come from anywhere? Did I go anywhere?" they understand that the *Tathāgatas* did not come from anywhere. Having understood that their own bodies did not go anywhere either, they think: "Whatever belongs to this Triple World is nothing but thought.[23] Why is that? It is because however I imagine things, that is how they appear."'

[3M] '"That thought is not apprehended as being inside, nor as being outside, nor as neither of the two,[24] on the contrary, it is produced on the basis of

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[22] For an analysis of the remainder of the chapter with reference to parallel passages from other Mahāyāna and some Pāli sources, see Sakurabe 1981. Note also the quotations from and paraphrases of this portion of the *PraS* in the *DZDL* (*Traité* IV: 1930).

[23] Cf. *Dbh*, p. 49: *citta-mātram idam yad idaṃ traidhātukam*. For a discussion of the significance of this statement in the historical development of Mahāyāna 'idealism', see Schmithausen 1973, esp. pp. 172-176, and Hall 1986, esp. 15-16 & n. 23.

[24] Cf. the parallel expression in *KP* 143: *na te ādhyātmena na bahirdhā nobhayam aṃtareṇopalabhyaṃte*; Tib. *de dag ni nang na yang med / phyi rol na yang med / gnyi ga med pa la yang mi dmigs te....* It can be seen that the Tibetans have construed *na ubhayam aṃtareṇa* as 'not in the absence of the two' rather than 'not **between** the two', cf. MW, s.v. *antareṇa*. Certainly 'neither inside nor outside' is more readily understood than 'between inside and outside'. The same expression also occurs in the *VKN* (see Lamotte 1962: 273 & n. 30).

This section of the *PraS* (3M) is not found in any Chinese version, so we may regard it as a probable later accretion. While there is no formal indication as to whether it is spoken by the Buddha, or is a continuation of the *bodhisattvas'* reflections begun in 3L, I have taken it as spoken by the *bodhisattvas*, and have done the same for the verses of 30, since in the original form of the *PraS* these verses were prose and clearly represent such a

objectification. That which is [in this way] produced conditionally (Skt. *pratītya-samutpanna*) has no substantial existence (Skt. *abhāva*). That which has no substantial existence is unborn. That which is unborn is not apprehensible as an object (Skt. *anupalambha*). That which is not apprehensible as an object is empty of essence (Skt. *svabhāva-śūnya*). That which is empty of essence is indefinable. That which is indefinable is unable to be seen, discerned, fixated upon, demonstrated, destroyed, or established.'"

[3N] [APPEARS IN CHINESE ONLY; T.418 GIVEN]

'"Thought creates the Buddha, thought itself sees him. Thought is the Buddha, thought the *Tathāgata*. Thought is my body, thought sees the Buddha. Thought cannot itself know thought, thought cannot itself see thought. Thought with [false] apperceptions is stupidity; thought without [false] apperceptions is Nirvāṇa. These dharmas lack anything enjoyable.[25] They are all produced by thinking. Since thinking is empty, then whatever is thought is thus ultimately non-existent." Bhadrapāla, such is the vision of the *bodhisattvas* established in the *samādhi*.'[26]

[3O] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[27]

[1] '"By thought is the Buddha produced;
And by thought alone is he seen.
The Buddha is only thought for me,[28]

continuation (see Appendix A).

25 Chinese 是法無可樂者. However, the Tibetan equivalent (30v4) is *chos 'di dag ni snying po med*, 'these dharmas are insubstantial', *snying po med* suggesting Skt. *asāra(ka)*, 'without pith', 'insubstantial', 'worthless'. This is supported by the other Chinese versions, e.g. T.419 (923a6) has 無堅, 'without firmness'. How then does *asāra(ka)* become 'not enjoyable'? Cf. n. 2.6 for another example of what appears to be the same problem; see also Appendix A.

26 So also, with minor differences, T.419 and T.416. As can be seen, this section presents in prose the material which is taken up in verse in 30. The complete sequence (3N-O) raises special text-historical problems which will be discussed below in Appendix A.

27 The Buddha may be responsible for their utterance, but since they are in effect merely the versified form of the reflections of the *bodhisattvas* engaged in the evaluation of their *samādhi* experience, I have punctuated accordingly.

28 Tib. *sems nyid nga yi sangs rgyas te* is probably not 'Thought only is my

Thought alone is the *Tathāgata*.

[2] Thought alone is my body,
And the Buddha is seen by thought.
Thought alone is my awakening;
Thought itself is without essence (Skt. *svabhāva*).[29]

[3] Thought does not know thought,
Thought does not see thought.
The apperception of thought is ignorance,
The non-apperception of thought is Nirvāṇa.[30]

[4] These dharmas are insubstantial,
They all arise from (mis)conception.
Whatever is conceived with regard to emptiness,
That conception is here empty.'"[31]

Chapter Three of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

Buddha'. T.419 and T.416 clearly take the *me* in Sanskrit as referring to *citta*, i.e. 'The Buddhas are only my thought.'

29 The last two *pādas* of 30v2 are not represented in the prose of the Chinese versions.

30 I have understood the Tibetan as a contraction of *sems su mi 'du shes*, in accordance with the Chinese. For the concept of 'apperception of thought' (Skt. *citta-saṃjñā*) see *Aṣṭa*, p. 74.23.

31 Even if one reads *stong pa nyid la* with R, the last two *pādas* of the Tibetan are not entirely clear. Fortunately, we have the Sanskrit original, which occurs as v. 10 in the Sagāthakam section of the *LA* (p. 107):

asārakā ime dharmā manyanāyāḥ samutthitāḥ /

sāpy atra manyanā śūnyā yayā śūnyeti manyate //

I.e.: 'These dharmas are insubstantial, since they have arisen from (mis)conception. Here the very conception is itself empty, by which one conceives that [the dharmas] are empty.' Here my rendering differs from Suzuki's (1932: 226-7). I am indebted to Lambert Schmithausen for drawing my attention to this citation.

CHAPTER FOUR

[4A] 'Such, Bhadrapāla, is the cognition (Skt. *jñāna*) of the *bodhisattvas* who are established in this *samādhi*.'[1]

[T.418: Chapter Three, The Four Things;
T.416: Chapter Two, The Practice of the *Samādhi*]

'Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present. What are the four? They are (1) faith that cannot be shaken; (2) the vigour never to turn back; (3) wisdom that others cannot lead astray; and (4) attendance upon good friends. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.'

[4B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are (1) for three months not having the apperception of a self (Skt. *ātma-saṃjñā*) even for the time it takes to snap the fingers; (2) for three months not being overcome by sloth and torpor even for the time it takes to snap the fingers; (3) having applied oneself vigourously and set oneself to walking up and down, not sitting down on the ground for three months, except to defecate and urinate; (4) giving extensively to others the gift of the Dharma and, in addition, not expecting gain, honour or praise. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[4C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are (1) exhorting beings to see the Buddha; (2) exhorting beings to hear the Dharma; (3) exhorting beings to conceive the aspiration to awakening; and (4) being free of envy. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

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1 This sentence, or a variant of it, is to be found in all Chinese versions at the end of **3N**.

[4D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are (1) through desire for this *samādhi* having an image of the *Tathāgata* made, or even just having a picture painted; (2) through desire for this *samādhi*, for the sake of making this *samādhi* endure for a long time and in order that this *samādhi* be preserved, copying it well and presenting it as a book; (3) establishing conceited persons in the Dharma which is free of conceitedness, that is to say, in supreme and perfect awakening; (4) being devoted to the protection, preservation, and maintenance of the *Tathāgata*'s teaching. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[4E] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[2]

[1] 'Have faith in the teaching of the *Sugata*,
Do not disparage the exposition of the dharma of emptiness.
Having applied yourself with vigour and eliminated torpor,
Do not once sit down for a full three months.

[2] Without attachment to gain, honour, or praise,
You should expound the Dharma spoken by the *Sugata*,
And spread the peerless teaching.
If you are free of attachment, you will obtain this Dharma.

[3] Free of envy, you should not give way to anger.
With desires eliminated, and thoughts liberated,
Concentrated, and delighting in trance,
If you make an effort, you will obtain this Dharma.

[4] Call to mind the Buddha with the marks of the highest merit,
Who has a golden colour and bears the hundred-merit marks,

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2 Twelve *gāthās* follow. The same verses in the same order are to be found in T.416 (see Concordance), while T.419 omits only Verse 3. As for T.418, K has preserved a prose translation of Verses 1-12 (again omitting only Verse 3), while SYM has a verse translation of all twelve *gāthās*.

Is beautiful, everywhere suffused [with light],[3]
And is as pleasing to look upon as an image of gold.

[5] Making obeisance, call to mind
Past Buddhas, or those yet to come.
Call to mind the *Sugata*, in order to worship
Those Supreme Humans who exist at present too.

[6] With thoughts full of faith worship the *Sugata*
With flowers, garlands,
Pure ointments, food and drink;
This *samādhi* will not be hard to obtain.

[7] If you desire this most excellent of *samādhis*,
With glad thoughts and joy beyond compare
Make music for the relics of the Matchless One
With the music of drums, conches, and tabours.

[8] If you desire this most excellent of *samādhis*,
Paint pictures well, and construct images of the Incomparable One,
Which have the marks complete, resemble the colour of gold,
Are large, and flawless.

[9] Having put to the fore the agreeable dharmas,[4]
If you are pure in morality, seek learning,
And have eliminated the bases of sloth,
You shall obtain this *sāmadhi* before long.

[10] Harbour no ill-will towards anyone.

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3 Tib. *kun nas yongs su rgyas gyur pa*, 'become everywhere very extensive/full/spreading'. The Sanskrit original was probably some form of *(pari)spharati*, perhaps *parisphuṭa* (for which see *BHSD*, p. 613), meaning 'pervaded', 'filled', 'suffused' (with light). Cf. T.419 (923a28): 'radiance shining everywhere'. T.416 (877c10) suggests *parisphuṭa* taken in the sense of 'fully-developed': it has 'perfect like a flower in bloom', in which the simile of the flower would appear to be Jñānagupta's own addition.

4 Skt. *sārāyaṇīya-dharma*, cf. n. 2.6 & n. 3.25.

If you abide in friendliness and abide in compassion,
And regard the sense-qualities with disinterestedness,
You shall obtain this *samādhi* before long.

[11] So towards the preachers of Dharma also foster friendliness,
And always have the apperception of [them as] the Teacher.
Be not proud, eliminate craving,
Never be miserly with the gift of the Dharma.

[12] Acquire these excellent blessings.
This item of instruction which is taught by the *Sugata*
Is the teaching of many Buddhas;
This *samādhi* will not be hard to obtain.'

Chapter Four of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

CHAPTER FIVE

[T.416: Chapter Three, The Vision of the Buddha]

[5A] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who desire this *samādhi* should have respect and reverence for the *bhikṣu* who preaches the Dharma, and when they have engendered the apperception of [him as] the Teacher, without any intention of finding fault, they should apply themselves to this *samādhi*. If, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* harbour thoughts of ill-will, or harbour harsh thoughts, or harbour thoughts devoid of faith towards that *bhikṣu* who preaches the Dharma, then, Bhadrapāla, there is no possibility or chance of those *bodhisattvas* obtaining this *samādhi*. And there is no such possibility if they do not engender the apperception of Teacher with regard to that *bhikṣu* who preaches the Dharma.'

'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because it is through disrespect that the True Dharma disappears.'

[5B] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, a man endowed with sight might look upwards into the midnight sky on a clear and cloudless night and see there many stars.'

'It is the same, Bhadrapāla, for *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who, supported by the Buddha, are established in this *samādhi*: because they have the apperception of space properly established and the apperception of the Buddha properly controlled, and by means of the might of the Buddha and their development of this *samādhi*, if they look east to other world-systems, then with little difficulty many Buddhas will appear to their organ of sight. With little difficulty many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many hundred thousand Buddhas, many *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred *koṭis* of Buddhas, many thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of Buddhas will with little difficulty appear to their organ of sight.'

'In the same manner they should cover the south, the west, the north, the four intermediate points, the nadir and the zenith, and if in that way they look towards the ten quarters, those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* will with little difficulty have many Buddhas appear to their organ of sight. With little difficulty many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many hundred thousand Buddhas, many *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred *koṭis* of Buddhas,

many thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of Buddhas will with little difficulty appear to their organ of sight.'

[5C] 'Thus, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* who, supported by the Buddha, are established in this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present will with little difficulty have many Buddhas appear to their organ of sight. With little difficulty many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many hundred thousand Buddhas, many *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred *koṭis* of Buddhas, many thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of Buddhas will with little difficulty appear to their organ of sight.'[1]

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[1] Section 5C presents a number of problems. It is not found in either T.418 or T.419, although the *gāthā* which relates to it, 5Ev6, is found in both those early translations (see below). T.416, however, contains an expanded version of the section (878a19-27):

> Further, Bhadrapāla, just as, in the world-system of that *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Amitāyus, the *bodhisattvas* who are reborn in that land look towards the east on the first day and see many Buddhas, see many hundred Buddhas, up to: see many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of Buddhas; and after that on the second day they look towards the south in the same way, up to: all the ten quarters in this fashion--in the same manner, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who have perfected the *Samādhi* of the *Bodhisattva* who Meditates on the Buddhas Manifesting, such *bodhisattvas* in their own country look in the ten quarters and see many Buddhas, see many hundred Buddhas, up to: see many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of Buddhas.

If this reference to the Buddha Amitāyus and the *bodhisattvas* of Sukhāvatī (cf. *Sukh*, p. 11, Vow No. 7) was indeed part of the prose portion of the original Sanskrit text, it must have dropped out of some versions of the *PraS* before the second century (hence T.418 and T.419). The *de ltar* with which 5C begins in the Tib. text could be a vestige of the stock Skt. formula for parables (*tad yathāpi nāma...evam eva...*), indicating the previous existence of a preceding point of comparison, but this is not necessarily the case; and usually *evam eva* in this context is rendered by *de bzhin du*. Such a comparison, however, is certainly to be found in the *gāthā* which relates to this section, viz. 5Ev6:

/ ji ltar byang chub sems dpa' tshe dpag med skyes nas /
/ 'jig rten mgon po brgya stong mang po mthong gyur pa /

[5D] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones possess Buddha-vision, the Buddha-vision endowed with which *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones know everything and see everything.'

'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who, supported by the Buddha, are established in this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present fully realise great learning with little difficulty. They fully realise the perfection (Skt. *pāramitā*) of giving (Skt. *dāna*), the perfection of morality, the perfection of patient acceptance (Skt. *kṣānti*), the perfection of vigour, the perfection of trance, and the perfection of wisdom. They fully realise morality, *samādhi*, wisdom, emancipation, and the cognition and vision of emancipation (Skt. *śīla-samādhi-prajñā-vimukti-vimuktijñānadarśana*). They fully realise the faculty of supreme wisdom, and supreme and perfect awakening.'

/ de ltar byang chub sems dpa'i ting 'dzin 'di thob na /
/ sangs rgyas dpa' bo mang po brgya stong mthong bar 'gyur /

I have translated the first *pāda* 'Just as the *bodhisattvas* with an unlimited life-span (*amitāyus / aparimitāyus*), once born...', but T.418 (K and SYM) and T.416 have understood the *amitāyus* as a proper name:

> T.418 (K: 906c13-907a1): 'The Buddha said: As the *bodhisattvas* of the *buddha-kṣetra* of the Buddha Amitāyus constantly see innumerable Buddhas...'
>
> T.418 (SYM: 906, n. 19): 'As the *bodhisattvas* of Amitāyus' land / See countless hundred thousand Buddhas...'
>
> T.416 (878b16): 'As those *bodhisattvas* of Sukhāvatī / See many incalculable Buddhas, Lords...'

Only T.419 stands apart, albeit obscurely (923c11):

> 'As incalculable [= *amita*?] *bodhisattva*-forms [色 =?]/ See Buddha-lands by the *koṭis* and ten thousands...'

In view of the nature of the evidence we have no way of determining whether an original verse reference to the **Buddha** Amitāyus (relating to a prose passage missing in some redactions) has been passed over by the Tibetans and possibly T.419, or whether on the other hand the Chinese have misread an ordinary *bahuvrīhi--a(pari)mitāyus*--as a proper name. But even if the latter is the case this looks very much like a reference to the lore pertaining to the *bodhisattvas* of Sukhāvatī, who have an unlimited lifespan like their Buddha, and can see countless other Buddhas at will.

[5E] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[2]

[1] 'For example a man endowed with sight, when he is alone at night,
Gets up at midnight, and in the clear sky
Sees many hundred thousand stars;
If he thinks of them mindfully, he recalls them by day also.

[2] In the same manner *bodhisattvas*, having obtained this *samādhi*,
Sees many hundred thousand Buddhas, Heroes;
They remember them even when they emerge from it,
And declare to the assembly: "Such are the Lords of the World."

[3] Just as my vision, the pure, undimmed,
And clear Buddha-vision sees the world,[3]
So the vision of the sons of the Jina, the *bodhisattvas*,
Is this spotless *samādhi*, by which the Lords of Humankind are seen.

[4] When they see the Daśabalas, Lords of the Two-footed,
Lords of the World,
Sages never engender the apperception of existing things.
Hear the excellent qualities of the foremost *bodhisattvas*,
Who have destroyed the poisons, are pure, and free of the
apperception of existing things (Skt. *bhāva-saṃjñā*).

[5] Hear also those excellent and cool dharmas.
Quickly call to mind the felicitous dharma of emptiness.
I also, having obtained the awakening of a *Jina*, shall expound
This felicitous dharma to humankind, to many beings.

[6] Just as the *bodhisattvas* with an unlimited life-span, once born,[4]

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2 The following eight *gāthās* appear in T.416, T.419, and the 'Three Editions' text of T.418 in the same order; but in the Korean edition of T.418 Verse 6 appears between Verses 7 and 8.

3 The second *pāda* of this verse in the Tib. has two syllables too many, pointing to some interference with the text.

4 See n. 5.1.

See many hundred thousand Lords of the World,
So will *bodhisattvas*, if they obtain this *samādhi*,
See many hundred thousand Buddhas, Heroes.

[7] Just as the good bhikṣu Ānanda, endowed with memory,
Accepts and retains what he hears from me,
So will *bodhisattvas*, if they obtain this *samādhi*,
Hear many dharmas and retain them all.

[8] On hearing this *samādhi*, experience joy,
And discard all the various spells of the world;
Be quick to have faith, and give the gift of the Dharma;
That way you shall attain this stage of purity and calm.'

Chapter Five of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

CHAPTER SIX

[T.418: Chapter Four, Similes;
T.416: Chapter Four, True Faith]

[6A] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should evince great enthusiasm and vigour in order to obtain this *samādhi*, that is, in order to perfect it.'

'For example, Bhadrapāla, an ocean-going ship laden with jewels might sail across the ocean and avoid all perils, only to be wrecked on the hither shore; at that the people of Jambudvīpa would send up a great cry, a great clamour, and a wailing, and through great affliction they would lament, saying:

"We have lost these jewels!"'

'It is the same, Bhadrapāla, with any sons of good family, or daughters of good family, or *bhikṣus*, or *bhikṣuṇīs*, or *upāsakas*, or *upāsikās* to whose hearing such a precious *samādhi* as this has come: if on hearing it they do not copy it in book form, teach it, recite it, preserve it, read it, expound it, cultivate it, or put it into practice, then, Bhadrapāla, the world with its *devas* will send up a great cry, a great clamour and a wailing, and through great affliction it will lament, saying:

"After hearing such a profound and precious *samādhi* as this, praised by the Buddha, extolled by the Buddha, glorified by the Buddha, and leading to the attainment of all the virtues of a Buddha, those beings who do not copy, teach, recite, preserve, read, expound, cultivate, or put it into practice, and who are overcome by pride, are ignorant, and do not hold to the complete accomplishment of great learning--they have lost such a precious *samādhi*!"'

[6B] 'Bhadrapāla, as for those beings who do not wish to hear this *samādhi*, and who will not accept this *samādhi*, they, Bhadrapāla, have been described by me as being subject to loss. Bhadrapāla, as for those beings who, on hearing such a precious *samādhi* as this, do not copy, teach, recite, preserve, read, expound, cultivate, or put it into practice, see how great their loss is, as I relate, Bhadrapāla, how unimportant such dharmas as those are to beings of that kind.'[1]

1 This section (6B) is not found in T.418 or T.419.

[6C] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, a certain man who was foolish by nature and stupid by nature was given some fresh red sandalwood, yet conceived the apperception of it as impure and conceived the apperception of it as dirty. A man wise by nature, a sandalwood merchant, said to him:

"Sir, do not conceive the apperception that this fresh sandalwood is impure, do not conceive the apperception that it is dirty. Sir, just smell how delightful its fragrance is. And see, sir, how attractive its colour is."

But the man who was foolish by nature and stupid by nature, on seeing that red sandalwood, did not himself take hold of it, because he did not wish to smell it, and he shut his eyes, because he did not wish to see it.'

[6D] 'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, at some future time *bhikṣus* and *bodhisattvas* who are conceited [?],[2] who have not cultivated their bodies, not cultivated their minds, not cultivated morality, not cultivated wisdom, who are immoral, do not accept the precious definitive meaning (Skt. *nītārtha*) of the True Dharma, are stupid, deficient in wisdom, overproud of their attainments of trance, who are attached to person, holding the view of a person (Skt. *pudgala-dṛṣṭi*), established in person, fixated on the objectification of dharmas, and frightened by the exposition of emptiness--when they hear this *samādhi* of the Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present expounded, they will not give ear to it or listen to it, will not have faith in it, nor accept, master, keep, or read it, to say nothing of expounding it in full to others. They will not experience great friendliness and joy on its account, to say nothing of putting it into practice in accordance with true reality (Skt. *tathatā*)--far from it, when they hear it they will reject it, not have faith in it, not accept it, and not apply themselves to it.'

[6E] 'With the intention of belittling it, with the intention of deriding it, and with the intention of reviling it they will say:

"The proliferation[3] of these scriptures, this appearance in the world of the

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2 *Dge slong byang chub sems dpa' rlom sems can* permits of several interpretations, including '*bhikṣus* who falsely imagine themselves to be *bodhisattvas*'. The absence of the disjunctive, however, suggests that the text intends people who are both *bhikṣus* and *bodhisattvas.* No indication is given by the Chinese; e.g. T.416 has simply 'evil bhikṣus'.

3 Tib. *'bar ba*, meaning literally 'to burn', 'to blaze forth', 'to blossom'.

likes of the *bhikṣu* Ānanda, and the appearance of *sūtras* like this are indeed great wonders!"
and going to a secret place they will revile it, saying to each other:

"*Sūtras* like this are fabrications, they are poetic inventions; they were not spoken by the Buddha, nor were they authorised by the Buddha!"
but stupid men like that are to be known as those who have lost the precious True Dharma, as those who have rejected the precious True Dharma.'

'Bhadrapāla, just as that man who was foolish by nature, when he saw the red sandalwood, blocked his nose so as not to smell it and closed his eyes so as not to see it, in the same manner, Bhadrapāla, those stupid men too, when they hear of such a precious *samādhi* as this, will not wish to listen to it repeatedly, and will not wish to accept, master, keep, or read it--far from it, when they hear it they will go away from that place, precisely because they do not wish to listen to it.'

[6F] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, a certain man who was a gem-merchant thought of showing a priceless gem of beryl (Skt. *vaiḍūrya-maṇi-ratna*) to those men who were stupid by nature, and those men who were stupid by nature, on seeing that gem, then said to him:

"Sir, how much is this gem worth?"

The gem-merchant said to them:

"Give me that area of ground which is lit up by the radiance of this gem, once it has been covered in all four quarters with the seven precious things. Why? Because that is the full value of this gem."

Hearing from him the value of that gem those beings who were stupid by nature laughed at him, abused and derided him, and measured that gem by [the area covered by?] two hands.'[4]

T.419 (924a9) has: 'This *sūtra* is like a fire in a brazier', suggesting a Sanskrit expression also meaning 'to flame up (suddenly)'.

4 Tib. *lag pa gnyis*, literally 'two hands', is also used to translate the Sanskrit *pāṇitala*, 'palm of the hand', which is, among other things, a unit of weight and value (see e.g. the Tib. translation of *Sukh* in *Jōdo sanbu-kyō*, p. 262, l. 3, corresponding to *Sukh*, p.26, l. 1); we cannot ascertain, of course, whether or not *pāṇitala* was used here. As usual, the Chinese versions compound the problem; both early versions have the unappreciative simpletons comparing the gem's value in some way with the price of an ox. E.g. T.419 (924a14-15): '...then they weigh the gem, and say to the merchant: "Barter

[6G] 'In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, at some future time those *bhikṣus* who are highly discerning,[5] have done their duty under former *Jinas* and have engendered wholesome potentialities, will, when they hear this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, take it up in order to propagate it, they will master, copy, cause to be copied, keep, read, and expound it in full to others, they will have faith, be very discerning, full of zealous application, pure in the modes of deportment (Skt. *īryāpatha*), endowed with modesty and contrition, they will desire training, be convinced of the profound, be endowed with wisdom, be greatly learned, abide in friendliness and obtain compassion; because they have heard this *samādhi*, wherever they go they will teach and demonstrate it. They will engender the aspiration: "May such a *bodhisattvas'* *samādhi* as this, spoken by the Buddha, by all means endure for a long time! May it spread!"'

[6H] 'Then too, Bhadrapāla, there will be certain other beings who have scant merit, have not engendered wholesome potentialities, have not done their duty under former *Jinas*, are tormented by gain, honour and praise, are impure in morality, have not obtained the *samādhis*, have not obtained the wisdoms, have scant learning, do not associate with a teacher, have the view of person, hold to

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[read: 博] this gem for one ox; as for the jewel, we will then regard this as its value [?].'"

T.418 (907b6-9) runs along similar lines: 'Those men do not at all understand its value; they deride this gem, saying: "Is its value not equal to one ox? Could you barter it for one ox, we think it would not be excessive. If you give it to us, good; if you are unwilling, so be it."' Both translations from the Chinese here are partially conjectural.

T.418 and T.416 add another sentence to the end of 6F; e.g. T.416 (879a21-23): 'So in this way, Bhadrapāla, those evil *bhikṣus* of future times, on hearing of the most excellent and precious *samādhi* in this *sūtra*, will be without thoughts of faith, will deride it greatly, and will slander it.' T.418 is similar.

5 Tib. *rtog pa mang ba*. Usually *rtog pa* has negative connotations (rendering e.g. Skt. *kalpa*, *kalpanā*, *vitarka*, etc. = 'false imagination', 'analytical thought', 'conceptual construction', and so on), and this has apparently lead to the major redactional variant described in the special note on p. 53 of the *Text*. In this context, however, it must render some positive quality (e.g. Skt. *vicāravat*); cf. T. 416 (879a24): 'whose faculty of wisdom is acute'; cf. also 7C and 24A.

person, abide in person, are fixated on the objectification of dharmas, and are frightened by the exposition of emptiness. When they hear this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, they will not understand, have faith in, believe, or incline strongly towards it. Far from it, when they hear it they will laugh at it, deride and revile it. Going off in secret they will abuse it among themselves and reject it, saying:

"These *bhikṣus* have a real nerve! These *bhikṣus* talk nonsense! It is a great wonder indeed that they should give the name *sūtra* to something which was not spoken by the Buddha, which is a poetic invention of their own fabrication, a conglomeration of words and syllables uttered merely in conversation!"

And saying:

"These *sūtras* were not spoken by the Buddha,"

they will make other people believe so too. In that way they will cultivate, develop, and increase the paucity of their merit, those stupid men who have scant merit, have not engendered wholesome potentialities, have not done their duty under former *Jinas*, have rejected the supreme and precious Dharma, and are excluded from the precious Dharma.'

[6I] 'Bhadrapāla, in the presence of these assemblies with their *devas*, human beings and *asuras* I announce to you, I inform you:[6] should any sons or daughters of good family fill this Trichiliomegachiliocosm with the seven precious things and offer it to the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One; and should any sons or daughters of good family listen to this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, and, having heard it, understand, have faith in, and give credence to it, firmly believe "This is the truth," and also declare: "It was spoken by the Buddha," then the increase in the merit of the latter sons or daughters of good family will be greater.'

[6J] Then at that time, in order to clarify that very matter, the Lord uttered

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6 This expression is common in *sūtra*-literature. *Khyod mos par bya'o // khyod kyis khong du chud par bya'o* is the usual equivalent for Sanskrit *ārocayāmi vaḥ prativedayāmi vaḥ* (see e.g. *Sukh* p. 62, l. 23, and its Tib. version, *Jōdo sanbu-kyō*, p. 316, ll. 15-16). See also *BHSD*, s.v. *ārocayati*.

these verses:[7]

[1] 'Compared with those who fill with precious things
The entire Trichiliocosm
And offer it to the Lord of the World,
In order to win supreme awakening,

[2] Those who, on hearing a *sūtra* and *samādhi* like this,
Commended by the Buddha,
Believe strongly in it
Have superior merit.

[3] Fraudulent, deceitful, and dishonest,
Haughty, with uncomposed faculties,
Fallen into the clutches of bad friends,
The evil-minded will not have faith.

[4] Immoral, evil in nature,
Firmly fixed in pride and egoism,
When they have gathered together amongst themselves,
They will laugh at the *Jina*'s teaching.

[5] Those unrestrained people
Will also say such things as:
"These *sūtras* were not spoken
By the King of Dharma, the Buddha."

[6] Those who, on hearing this *samādhi-sūtra*,
Do not understand it

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7 Of the ten *gāthās* which follow in Tib., eight appear in the Chinese versions, nos. 6 and 7 being omitted. The order of verses in the Chinese is as follows:

T.418 (K: 907b24-c7): 1,2,3,4,5,10,8,9.
T.418 (SYM: 907, n. 18): 1,2,3,4,5,10(?),8,9.
T.419 (924b1-16): 1,2,3,4,5,10,8,9.
T.416 (879b29-c15): 3,4,5,10,8,9,1,2.

Are wicked, lost, and ignorant,
And given to objectification in line with pernicious views.

[7] Those who have scant merit and are given to objectification
Will not be able to have faith
In *sūtras* of this sort,
Which were spoken by the Buddha.

[8] As for those who hear such a *sūtra* as this
And rejoice in it,
Do not doubt
That they will become Supreme Humans.

[9] Those who are pure in morality,
Always straight in their views,
And respectful towards this Dharma--
For them have I expounded the Dharma.

[10] Those who have seen the Great Heroes,
The Lords of the World, the Light-bringers--
For their sake it has been expounded;
May they also take up the Dharma.'

Chapter Six,
'The Conceited Ones',
of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BAMPO THREE

[T.416: Chapter Five, Acceptance]

[7A] 'Bhadrapāla, as for those who are encountering (Skt. *ārāgayanti*)[1] me now as I expound this *samādhi*, there is no possibility or chance of their rejecting or reviling this *samādhi* when they hear it in the last time, in the last age, in the final five hundred years,[2] unless they fall into the hands of bad friends, or are separated from good friends.'

'In this respect, Bhadrapāla, certain stupid men, on hearing this *samādhi*, do not have faith in it, believe it, or become convinced by it even when they are in the hands of good friends, to say nothing of those who have fallen into the hands of bad friends. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? That great learning is so

1 Tib. *mnyes par byed pa*, literally 'to please', which is generally taken to be the primary sense of Sanskrit *ārāgayati*, i.e. 'to propitiate'. But, as is clear from the context in other passages, this is simply an honorific expression for 'to meet', 'to encounter' (cf. *BHSD*, s.v.), and is so translated by all Chinese versions of the *PraS* in nearly all instances. I have followed their lead.

2 The *PraS* makes much of the idea of the 'last age', a common theme in Buddhist literature. For a résumé of the subject, see in particular Lamotte 1958: 210-222. Various schemes are found, usually involving multiples of 500 years. Since the *PraS* represents itself as being actually rediscovered and propagated during the last 500 years (see Chap. 13), and since it was first translated into Chinese in A.D. 179, it is reasonable to assume that its compiler subscribed to the scheme involving two 500-year periods, i.e. the earliest form of the idea (Lamotte 1958: 211-212). What distinguishes the *PraS* from most other *sūtras* which discuss their own propagation in the 'last age' is its claim that it will disappear **until** the 'last age', and then re-appear. Foreshadowing the Tibetan *gter-ma* tradition, this refinement is an unusual one for its time (although it is also found in the legend of the transmission of the Prajñāpāramitā to Nāgārjuna), and allows us to settle upon a rough *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *PraS* (or of that part of it which includes Chap. 13) of approximately 500 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, i.e. c. 14 C.E. if one adopts the standard 'long chronology' (placing the Nirvāṇa in about 486 B.C.E.), or c. C.E. 132 if one opts for the 'short chronology' (Nirvāṇa c. 368 B.C.E.). Whichever chronology one chooses to follow, they both make it unlikely that the *PraS* was composed before the first century C.E., and naturally C.E. 179 stands as the *terminus ante quem*.

difficult to perfect. That vision of the Buddha is so difficult to obtain. Bhadrapāla, it is so difficult to apply oneself to the Buddha-dharmas. Bhadrapāla, this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, which produces all Buddha-dharmas, is also so difficult to perfect.'

[7B] 'Bhadrapāla, any *bodhisattvas*, whether householders or renunciants, who on hearing a *samādhi* such as this are not afraid, are not frightened, and are not fearful, who do not laugh at, revile, abuse, or reject it, but on the contrary rejoice at it when they hear it, have faith in, believe, and aspire to it, and conceive the desire to teach, take up, master, keep, read, copy, expound and cultivate this *samādhi*--Bhadrapāla, all such sons or daughters of good family are seen by the *Tathāgata*; they are known to the *Tathāgata*.'

[7C] 'How, Bhadrapāla, are such good men as those seen by the *Tathāgata*, and how are they known to the *Tathāgata*? Such good men as those, who will take up, master, keep, read, copy, teach, and cultivate this *samādhi*, Bhadrapāla, are not immoral, are not without faith, are not those who have no desire for the Dharma, do not hold wrong views, and are not fixated on objectification, but, Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those have faith. That is to say, such sons and daughters of good family as those who accept dharmas like these are highly discerning, have great conviction, are believing, desire the Dharma, and are convinced of the profound. Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those are not poor in merit, nor poor in wholesome potentialities, but, Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those have done their duty under former *Jinas* and have purified their wholesome potentialities.'[3]

[7D] 'Bhadrapāla, such sons or daughters of good family as those have not worshipped one Buddha, nor have they created wholesome potentialities under one, two or three Buddhas; Bhadrapāla, such sons of good family as those have worshipped a hundred Buddhas. Such sons of good family as those have created wholesome potentialities under a hundred Buddhas. On hearing this *samādhi* from those *Tathāgatas* such sons or daughters of good family as those have rejoiced at it and been convinced of it. In the last age, the last time, in the

3 This section (7C) does not appear in T.418.

final five hundred years also, when they hear this *samādhi* they will not reject it. Far from it, when they hear it they will rejoice at it, applaud it, keep, read, instruct, expound, and exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it.'

'Bhadrapāla, if any sons or daughters of good family are not afraid or frightened or fearful when they hear this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, and do not reject it, but, on the contrary, rejoice when they hear it, have faith in, believe, become convinced of, and applaud it; if they also accept it when they hear it, master, keep, read, copy, cause to be copied, teach, and exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it, even if only for a day and a night, then, Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family will on that basis engender considerable merit. They will engender an immeasurable, incalculable mass of merit. Those sons and daughters of good family will become unable to regress from supreme and perfect awakening. They will also obtain fulfilment in accordance with their resolve.'[4]

[7E] 'However, Bhadrapāla, in order to make this matter absolutely clear I shall teach you a parable. For example, Bhadrapāla, a certain man, having appeared, might smash this Trichiliomegachiliocosm into atoms of dust, might smash into atoms of dust all the grasses, branches, foliage and leaves, even those as much as four inches long, in this Trichiliomegachiliocosm. Now if that man were then to take a single atom of dust from that, and split it into as many parts as there were atoms of dust altogether, and continue in that fashion splitting all those atoms of dust into that many parts, then, Bhadrapāla, what do you think? Would those atoms of dust be numerous?'

The *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, they would be numerous. Reverend *Sugata*, they would be numerous.'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, if some sons or daughters of good family were to fill with the seven precious things as many Buddha-fields as there would be parts of those atoms of dust, and give them as a gift to the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, would they on that basis produce a lot of merit?'

He replied:

'Reverend Lord, it would be a lot. Reverend *Sugata*, it would be a lot.'

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4 The version of this section presented by T.416 is more amplified and differs somewhat in organisation.

[7F] The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you.[5] Bhadrapāla, compared with the sons or daughters of good family who might fill that many Buddha-fields with the seven precious things and give them as a gift to the *Tathāgatas*, if, Bhadrapāla, on hearing this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, sons or daughters of good family understand, have faith in, believe in, and become convinced of it, and having understood, had faith in, believed in, and become convinced of it then accept, master, keep, read, copy, expound in full to others, teach and proclaim it, then a mass of merit far greater than the former wholesome potentialities is engendered by these sons or daughters of good family, to say nothing of the ones who continue to exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it, even if only for the length of time it takes to milk a cow.'

'Bhadrapāla, I cannot describe the extent of the mass of merit even of those sons or daughters of good family who, on hearing this *samādhi*, accept, master, keep, read, copy, explain, teach, and proclaim it to others in full, let alone that of those sons or daughters of good family, Bhadrapāla, who perfect it, train in it in accordance with true reality, and put it into practice in accordance with true reality.'

[7G] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[6]

[1] 'As for those who might fill these Megachiliocosms
With precious things and give them as a gift,
I would describe their fruit as small,
[Compared with] those hearing a dharma like this,

[2] *Bodhisattvas* desiring much merit,
Who keep and read this *samādhi*,
And, having heard it, teach it indefatigably;
They become possessed of an infinite mass of merit.

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5 Cf. n. 6.6.

6 T.418 and T.416 both reproduce the following 17 *gāthās* in the same order as the Tibetan, omitting only Verse 12.

[3] Compared with those who might break and split this world-system
Into atoms, reducing it to dust,
And, filling that many world-systems
With precious things, give them as a gift,

[4] Those who master a single four-line verse
From this *samādhi* bestowed by the Buddhas
And commended by the *Sugatas*
Have merit which is beyond comparison,

[5] To say nothing of those who for an instant,
Or even for the time it takes to milk a cow,
Master, preserve and read it--
Their merit is immeasurable beyond even that.

[6] If all beings became *Sugatas*,[7]
Pure in cognition and proficient in the
ultimate truth (Skt. *paramārtha*),
And if they for a great many *koṭis* of *kalpas*
Or more were to exalt [?] the merit of expounding one verse;

[7] If they were to attain Nirvāṇa
After having taught many *koṭis* of dharmas for that long,
The merit of those who keep a verse from this *samādhi*

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7 Cf. *Sukh*, p.41, 11. 4ff. Although the gist of these two verses (6 and 7) is commonplace in *sūtra*-literature, the wording of the Tibetan is not clear. I have translated in light of the Chinese, which is more readily comprehensible. E.g. T.418 (908a20-23):

If everyone became Buddhas
Pure in noble knowledge, foremost in wisdom,
And all for a *koṭi* of *kalpas* and beyond that number
Were to expound the merit of one *gāthā*,

Were to extol that merit up until their Nirvāṇa,
All praising it for numberless *koṭis* of *kalpas*,
They would not be able to exhaust that merit
From one *gāthā* of this *samādhi*.

T.416 (880c9-12) has substantially the same sense.

Would still be harder to measure.

[8] Compared with filling with precious things
As many world-systems as there are in the four quarters,
the nadir, and likewise the zenith,
And giving them as a gift to the Knower of the World
Out of a desire for merit,

[9] The merit of those who cultivate well
And teach to others this peaceful, spotless *samādhi*
Defies calculation in terms of multiples or comparisons
With those vast world-systems.

[10] Those who develop this peaceful *samādhi*
Are never unsure or uncertain;
They need never fear downfall,
Nor does it occur to them to doubt the Dharma.

[11] By cultivating this *samādhi*, spoken by the Buddha,
They have worshipped me as well;
They have also acquired vast and inconceivable merit;
The *bodhisattvas* become distinguished by their learning.

[12] Those who on hearing this *samādhi* preserve it
In the last age, in the time of great terror,
They will have worshipped me,
The Buddhas of the past, and those of the future as well.

[13] I announce to you, I inform you:
Exert yourselves with vigour and vigilance,
Apply yourselves steadfastly, with joyful thoughts,
And this *samādhi* will not be hard to obtain.

[14] Those who enquire about this *samādhi*,
Have encountered (Skt. *ārāgayati*) a hundred *Jinas*,
Those who in the last age, in the time of great terror,

On hearing the *samādhi* have faith in it.

[15] Those who relate to others, with thoughts of faith,
This holy, peaceful *samādhi*,
They see me, these *bhikṣus*,
And you too, Bhadrapāla, the householder.

[16] If they have obtained this great *samādhi*,
Bodhisattvas are known as greatly learned.
This is extolled by all Buddhas together;[8]
Learning also produces the awakening of all Buddhas.

[17] If one has studied well this *samādhi*,
Which is authorised by the Buddha and extolled by the Wise,
Then one obtains the lineage of learning[9]
As authorised and extolled by the *Sugata*.'

Chapter Seven of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

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8 Both Chinese versions have words for *dhāraṇī* in their version of this *pāda* (see T.418, 908b10; T.416, 880c28). This is plausible in the context, but I am at a loss to square it with the Tibetan--unless perhaps *bsngags* was originally *sngags*.

9 Tib. *thos pa'i rigs*. *Thos pa* can be *śruti* or *śruta*, *rigs* most probably *kula*, or perhaps *gotra* or *vaṃśa*. Since *thos pa'i rigs* seems to be equated with the *samādhi* (both are 'authorised and extolled by the Buddha(s)'), the sense may be that the *samādhi* constitutes the mechanism whereby learning is perpetuated, i.e. the 'family-line' of learning (learning in the special sense of hearing the sacred word). Mastery of the *samādhi* thus confers membership in an authentic line of transmission. The Chinese is not very helpful--T.418 (909b12) has: 'Hearing their lineage (= *śruta-kula*?) they obtain *saṃbodhi*', while T.416 (881a1) has: 'They shall obtain lineage and great learning', also suggesting the compound *śruti-kula* (or something similar), taken by Jñānagupta as a *dvandva*--but 'obtain' in both versions confirms R's reading of *thob* instead of *thos* (all other witnesses). *Thos pa'i rigs* occurs also at 15H.

CHAPTER EIGHT

[T.418: Chapter Five, Non-attachment;
T.416: Chapter Six, Contemplation]

[8A] 'Bhadrapāla, how then should *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* cultivate this *samādhi*? Bhadrapāla, just as I am at present sitting before you and teaching the Dharma, in the same way, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should concentrate on the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones as sitting on the Buddha-throne and teaching the Dharma. They should concentrate on the *Tathāgatas* as being endowed with all the finest aspects, handsome, beautiful, lovely to behold, and endowed with bodily perfection. They should look at the bodies of the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones with their Marks of the Great Man (Skt. *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*), each one of them produced by a hundred merits. They should also apprehend the external features (Skt. *nimitta*)[of the Marks]. They should also enquire about the invisible crown of the head [?].[1] Having enquired, they should also once more

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1 'Invisible crown of the head', Skt. *anavalokita-mūrdhatā*, refers to the fact that one cannot look down upon the top of a Buddha's head. This is one of the 80 minor physical characteristics or *anuvyañjana* of the Buddha according to Mahāyāna sources, for which see *Traité* III, p. 1346, n.1, and Durt 1967. However, with regard to what the practititioner is supposed to do at this point, the text is frustratingly imprecise. What exactly is intended by Tib. *yongs su zhu ba* (usually Skt. *pariprach-*)? Is one supposed to review mentally the 80 *anuvyañjana*, starting with the *anavalokita-mūrdhatā*, which is the first of them according to some sources? T. 416 (881a9ff) is not much clearer--

> ...thus they contemplate the Marks of the Great Man. They should concentrate their thoughts on each and every mark, and then they will see clearly the *Tathāgatas* and Perfectly Awakened Ones. Having seen them they should first enquire about the mark of the invisible crown of the head. When they have enquired about it, they should subsequently contemplate all the marks in proper order, and make them all clear.

--but a process of mental review seems to be intended. In this regard one might note the detailed instructions given by Zhiyi for the *pratyutpanna-samādhi*, which appear to reflect this section. The critical passage (as summarised in Stevenson 1986: 59) is:

> The meditative discernment itself centres around the visualisation of the thirty-two major marks and eighty minor excellent qualities

apprehend the external features of the Marks of the Great Man. Having apprehended them they should train themselves in this way:

"Oh how marvellous the beauty of those *Tathāgatas, Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones! I too at a future time shall be endowed with such bodily perfection. I shall perfect such marks. I too shall be endowed with such morality. I shall be endowed thus with *samādhi*, thus with wisdom, thus with emancipation, and thus with the cognition and vision of emancipation. I too shall in the same way become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening. And once I am fully awakened I shall expound the Dharma to the four assemblies and the world with its *devas*!"
--thus should they train themselves.'

[8B] 'Having in that way concentrated on them as being endowed with all the finest aspects [and so on], they should also train themselves in this way:

"What is that dharma called 'I'? What too is that dharma called 'mine'? What too is that awakening? And who is it that is fully awakened to awakening? Does one become fully awakened to awakening through the body, or does one become fully awakened to awakening through the mind?"

"If it is said that one is fully awakened to awakening through the body, then since the body is inert, immobile, inactive, unthinking and similar to grass, trees, stones, walls, and reflections, whilst awakening is formless, incommunicable (Skt. *anidarśana*), invisible (Skt. *anābhāsa*) and imperceptible (Skt. *avijñaptika*),[2] then how can one be fully awakened to formless, incommunicable, invisible and imperceptible awakening by means of an inert,

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> of the Buddha Amitābha. This practice is performed repeatedly, "in reverse order from the thousand-spoked wheels on the soles of his feet to the indiscernible *uṣṇīṣa* on the crown of his head, and then in the normal order from the crown of the head back to the thousand-spoked wheel."

Zhiyi cannot have got this level of detail from T.418, which is comparatively imprecise, and it is unlikely that he could have got it from T.416, translated barely two years before his death in 597; nor is this section of the *PraS* represented in the *DZDL* or the *SZPPSL*. It is therefore possible that there was also a detailed oral tradition of the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* in existence in China.

2 Cf. *KP* 56, 98. See also *BHSD*, s.v. *anābhāsa*. The terms are not precisely clear to me; cf. Weller's translation of them (1965: 96-7): '... das Gestaltlose, das nicht Aufzuzeigende, das nicht Erscheinende, das ohne Ausdrucksgebärde des Wollens.'

immobile, inactive, and unthinking body?"

"If, however, it is said that one is fully awakened to awakening through the mind, then since the mind is formless, incommunicable, invisible, imperceptible and illusory, whilst awakening is formless, incommunicable, invisible and imperceptible, then how can one be fully awakened to formless, incommunicable, invisible and imperceptible awakening by means of a formless, incommunicable, invisible, imperceptible and illusory mind?"
--thus should they train themselves.'

[8C] 'Bhadrapāla, then *bodhisattvas* should train themselves in this way:

"One is not fully awakened to awakening through the body. One is not fully awakened to awakening through the mind. Nor is that which is devoid of mind fully awakened to awakening through mind. Nor is that which is formless fully awakened to awakening through form. Nor is mind fully awakened to awakening through mind. Nor is form fully awakened to awakening through form."
--thus should they train.'

'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? The body of the *Tathāgata* has rejected all holding to extremes, and consequently the *Tathāgata* proceeds observing the body as the body; he proceeds observing the mind as the mind.'[3]

[8D] 'Bhadrapāla, even the wisdom which makes known all dharmas, the wisdom which is formless, incommunicable, invisible, imperceptible and not subject to the noxious influences (Skt. *anāśrava*) is not fully awakened; nor is it not fully awakened. Why is that? It is because the *Tathāgatas*' body is not subject to the noxious influences; the *Tathāgatas*' mind is not subject to the noxious influences; the form of the *Tathāgatas, Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones is also not subject to the noxious influences; and the feelings, apperception, predispositions, and consciousness of the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones are also not subject to the noxious influences, to say nothing of the fact that the morality, the *samādhi*, the wisdom, the emancipation, or the cognition and vision of emancipation of the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones are not subject to the noxious influences. Bhadrapāla, all dharmas of the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened

3 This latter paragraph of 8C is not found in Chinese.

Ones are also not subject to the noxious influences. Whatever True Dharma has been, is being, or will be expounded by the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones is also not subject to the noxious influences; and while this is unknown to the foolish and unwise, it is perfectly understood by the wise.'

[8E] 'Bhadrapāla, at that time *bodhisattvas* should train in this way:

"Is one fully awakened to awakening through the body, or is one fully awakened to awakening through wisdom?"

---thus should they train. Then, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should train thus:

"One is fully awakened to awakening neither through the body, nor through wisdom."

Why is that? Because that wisdom is not subject to the noxious influences, and cannot be apprehended as an object no matter how they search for it; for that reason they become disinterested in the search for awakening. Why is that? Because that awakening too is not subject to the noxious influences, and cannot be apprehended as an object no matter how they search for it. Even if they search for their own body and their own mind they cannot be apprehended as objects. In the same way, even if they search for all dharmas they cannot be apprehended as objects. They can neither apprehend as an object anyone who is fully awakened to awakening, nor can they apprehend as an object that through which one is fully awakened to awakening, nor can they apprehend as an object or see anything that is to be fully awakened to awakening. If they discern any dharmas in that way then they do not see them correctly. Even though they review all dharmas as being essentially calmed (Skt. *śānta*), they are not essentially calmed.[4] Why is that? Because what is unproduced is not calmed. They understand all uncalmed dharmas to be calmed dharmas. They understand all calmed dharmas to be devoid of calming. Having so understood, they should not understand that dharmas are calmed, nor should they understand that they are not calmed. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because all dharmas are unproduced and uncompleted (Skt. *apariniṣpanna*).'

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[4] It is difficult to find a satisfactory English equivalent for *śānta* (Tib. *zhi ba*) and other forms of the verbal root *śam-*. When a dharma is referred to as *śānta*, I take it to mean that it is finished, extinguished, spent, that its potential is exhausted, that its activity has ceased. Obviously 'calmed' does not do full justice to the sense.

[8F] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, if a certain man should say of a fire that has not been lit and is not burning "I shall extinguish this fire," then, Bhadrapāla, what do you think? Would that man be speaking truthfully?'

Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, he would not.'

The Lord said:

'So it is, Bhadrapāla, because all dharmas cannot be apprehended as objects. If someone were to say:

"Setting worldly convention aside,[5] I shall know all dharmas. I shall reject all dharmas. I shall realise all dharmas. I shall develop all dharmas. I shall make all dharmas calm. I shall obtain all dharmas. I shall obtain the fruit of Stream-entering. I shall obtain the fruit of the Once-returner. I shall obtain the fruit of the Never-returner. I shall obtain Arhatship. I shall obtain self-awakening. I shall be fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening. Having been fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening I shall teach the Dharma. I shall deliver beings from transmigration," then would they be speaking truthfully?'

Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, they would not.'[6]

[8G] The Lord said:

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, the sons or daughters of good family who desire perfect awakening, and the sons or daughters of good family who desire self-awakening and who desire Arhatship should discern those dharmas in that way. Having discerned those dharmas in that way they should not discern that dharmas are calmed, nor should they discern that dharmas are not calmed.'

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5 I.e. 'in a real sense', 'not simply as a matter of verbal convention'. Although generally anything which follows a *'di skad du* is quoted material, an alternative interpretation would be not to include this expression in the following speech, i.e. (roughly) 'If someone were to say the following, in any sense but that of worldly convention: "I shall..."' This is possibly more in keeping with the context. However, the phrase could be a gloss that has crept into the text; it is not attested by T.416.

For the construction *samyag-vadamāno vadet*, 'speaking truthfully', see Conze 1973, s.v.

6 8F is not found in T.418.

'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? If with regard to all dharmas which are nothing, unproduced and uncompleted someone were to discern: "All dharmas are calmed", this would be one extreme. If one were to discern: "All dharmas are not calmed", this would be the other extreme. Bhadrapāla, not to objectify, discern, fabricate, concentrate on, or practise these two extremes of 'calmed' and 'not-calmed' is by one reckoning known as the middle way (Skt. *madhyamā pratipad*) according to the teaching of worldly convention, but as far as ultimate truth (Skt. *paramārtha*) is concerned, neither extreme nor middle are objectively apprehensible here.'

[8H] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? All dharmas are similar to empty space and equal to Nirvāṇa; that is, they are uninterrupted, imperishable, impermanent, not unchangeable, unlocated, unlocalised, signless, and incalculable, that is, since even wise people cannot approach them by calculation or apprehend them as objects, all dharmas are known as incalculable. Bhadrapāla, when *bodhisattvas* have seen those *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones in that way, they should not fixate on them. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? All dharmas are beyond fixation, and, there being no fixation to them, they are called severed at the roots, devoid of roots, and unsupported. Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should develop this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present in such a way that, when they see those Buddhas and Lords, they will be free of clinging, objectification, and wrong attachment. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because the *Tathāgata* has said that all dharmas are ungraspable, quite calm, similar to empty space, and equal to Nirvāṇa.'

[8I] 'For example, Bhadrapāla, a lump of gold which has been heated and made red-hot, like an iron ball, would not be taken hold of by wise people. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because it is essentially hot, Bhadrapāla, and even though it is gold, the most precious of substances, nevertheless, Bhadrapāla, they will not take hold of it, precisely because it is very hot. In the same manner, Bhadrapāla, when *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* see those *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones they should not fixate [on them]. Nor should they fixate on [their] form, feelings, apperception, predispositions, or consciousness. Nor should they fixate on [their] morality, *samādhi*, wisdom, emancipation, or cognition and vision of emancipation. They should also not fixate on any of the Buddha-dharmas; and they should not fixate on any of the

aspects. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because fixation engenders all the dharmas of suffering of which transmigration is the essence.'

[8J] 'However, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* see those *Tathāgatas, Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, then they should aspire to the excellent dharmas which consist in good qualities (Skt. *guṇa-dharma*) with the thought: "How marvellous is the cognition of the *Tathāgatas, Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, who are endowed with wonderful dharmas which consist in good qualities, that is to say, their great cognition, cognition of a Buddha, cognition of a *Tathāgata*, cognition of a Self-existent One, cognition of one equal to the peerless, cognition of one more excellent than all the Triple World!" Here *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* should not fixate on that cognition which is to be aspired to. Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* should not fixate on this *samādhi* either. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? These dharmas are the direct manifestation of freedom from fixation.'

[8K] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[7]

[1] 'A woman observes her made-up face
In a polished mirror or a vessel of oil,
And having conceived a passion for it
Rushes around seeking her desire.[8]

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7 Of the following 23 *gāthās*, all are to be found in T.416 (882a18-c5) in the same order, except only that Verses 21 and 22 are transposed. The same is true of T.418 (908c26-909b11), except that the latter omits Verse 5.

8 As was drawn to my attention by Christoph Cüppers, the same verse occurs in Chap. IX of the *SR* (p. 46, verse 9):

ādarśapṛṣṭhe tatha tailapātre
nirīkṣate nāri mukhaṃ svalaṃkṛtaṃ /
sā tatra rāgaṃ janayitva bālā
pradhāvitā kāma gaveṣamāṇā //

for which the Tibetan translation runs (see Cüppers 1983: 27):

/ me long ngos dang 'bru mar snod mams la /
/ bud med kha bzhin brgyan pas (read: *pa*?) *bltas pa na /*
/ byis pa de ni de la chags bskyed nas /
/ 'dod pa tshol ba'i phyir yang shin tu rgyug /

[2] The woman, deluded with regard to a non-existent dharma,
Is horribly tormented and afflicted by desire;
The woman, beguiled by her own body,
Does not know that these dharmas are void; similarly--

[3] "I shall be awakened to awakening, taste its nectar,
And deliver beings afflicted by suffering!"
Bodhisattvas whose thoughts run thus
Are called [mere] beings because of their ignorance.

[4] From the standpoint of ultimate truth no being exists objectively
Who is born, dies, and attains Nirvāṇa;
Dharmas are ungraspable, like the moon in space;
Even if one looks for awakening one cannot find it.

[5] Like a reflection, like the moon in space,
Like an illusion, empty, like a mirage,
Dharmas are without substantial existence, and empty of essence;
Fools perceive them as always existing.

[6] If those who have the aptitude for awakening know
That in this world people are free of any defilement (Skt. *kleśa*),
And know the ultimate truth, that the world is deluded,
They become Buddhas, Lords of the World.

[7] The awakening of a Buddha is discerned by mind,
And mind is pure and essentially luminous,
Unpolluted and unsullied by all destinies--
Those who know that will awaken to the highest awakening.

[8] All dharmas are not subject to the noxious influences and formless,
Isolated, empty, and free of discrimination--
Those who, devoid of desire and liberated in mind,
Know this, obtain this *samādhi*.

See Cüppers 1983: 26 for the variant readings of the Sanskrit text.

[9] Having taken the *Jina*'s body as an object,
Listen to the Dharma which is essentially pure.
Without the slightest meditative cultivation or
deconstruction (Skt. *vibhāvanā*) in this regard,
This *samādhi* will be easy to obtain.

[10] If one has established oneself in the apperception of space,
The apperception of atoms will be suppressed.
They obtain this *samādhi*, who know
That [things are] unconstructed, uncreated and imperishable.

[11] Knowing that all forms are unconstructed,
They are unattached wherever they direct their vision,
In that way they will see the Buddhas
Like seven suns rising on this world.

[12] Those whose vision is pure and whose hearing is pure,
Who have applied themselves with vigour,
are mindful and fully conscious,
And have cultivated this *samādhi* well,
Win inconceivably great learning.

[13] What this *samādhi* of non-vision is,
And what the *samādhi* of all beings is,
By which nothing is seen, by which nothing is discerned [?],
With regard to this many sectarians come to grief.

[14] Once they have cleared away apperceptions of sign,
They become pure in mind, and see the Buddhas;
Having seen them they no longer see them;
They become Buddhas, Lords of the World.

[15] In front of them there is no earth and no water,
There is no fire, no air, and no space,
But they will apprehend as objects the Buddhas

Sitting and expounding the True Dharma.

[16] Just as those who desire the Dharma
See me sitting and expounding the Dharma now,
So for them no other object will arise
Except the Buddhas and likewise the supreme Dharma.

[17] For those who are so endowed,
No other sight or sound will be apprehended as objects,
Apart from the teaching of many Buddhas
Which this spotless *samādhi* contains so well.

[18] No Buddha has appeared in the past,
And no future one exists anywhere
Who has not expounded and will not expound
This peaceful, holy *samādhi*.

[19] I also, who have appeared in the world in the present
As the Supreme Human, for the benefit of beings,
Remembering these Buddhas and Guides,
Expound this peaceful *samādhi*, difficult to behold.

[20] When one has established oneself in this *samādhi*
Out of the wish to seek the good qualities of the Buddha,
Without regard for one's person or similarly one's life,
The awakening of a Buddha will be easy to obtain.

[21] If they see many Supreme Humans, whose nature is one,
Wise people wish to question them;
Quickly, quickly, with all haste
They should cultivate the spotless, pure *samādhi*.

[22] They who have set out for the benefit of beings
And seek great learning of inconceivable extent,
Quickly, quickly, with all haste
They should cultivate the spotless, pure *samādhi*.

[23] Herein there is no desire and no hatred,
Herein there is no delusion and no envy,
Herein there is neither knowledge nor ignorance,
Therefore know this peaceful *samādhi*.'

Chapter Eight of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

CHAPTER NINE

[T.418: Chapter Six, The Four Classes; T.416: Chapter Seven: The Fulfilment of Morality]

[9A] When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how marvellous is this profound *samādhi* which the Lord has expounded in this way! Reverend Lord, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who have gone forth from the household life wish, when they hear this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or cultivate it, then, Lord, established in which dharmas should those *bodhisattvas* receive instruction in or cultivate this *samādhi*?'

This having been said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life and who wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or cultivate it should be pure in morality; and they should be flawless in morality.'

[9B] The *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, in what way are *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life pure in morality and flawless in morality?'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life and who, on hearing this *samādhi*, wish to receive instruction in it or cultivate it, should be restrained by the restraints of the Prātimokṣa;[1] they should be perfect in their conduct and associations, should see even the slightest blameworthiness as a danger, and be pure in deportment; taking them upon themselves they should train themselves in the rules of training; they should be convinced of the profound and have patient acceptance of non-objectification; when they hear the dharmas of emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness they should not be afraid, nor frightened, nor fearful. That is the way, Bhadrapāla, in which *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the

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1 Cf. *KP* 134, which has many elements in common with this section.

household life are pure in morality and flawless in morality.'

[9C] The *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, in what way are *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life impure in morality, flawed in morality?'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, whenever *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life live the holy life established in form, live the holy life established in feelings, apperception, predispositions, and consciousness, and say: "By virtue of this morality, austerity, and holy life of mine may I become some *deva* or other [?],"[2] this, Bhadrapāla, is impure morality, this is flawed morality on the part of *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life. That is to say, they are impure in morality because, being attached to the apperception of existing things, they wish to hang onto the objects of desire, and they wish to grasp at opportunities for rebirth in existence.'

[9D] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life and who wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to expound or cultivate it should be pure in morality; they should be flawless in morality; they should be unsullied in morality; they should be unimpaired in morality; they should be unadulterated in morality. They should be those whose morality is unsupported, whose morality is free of clinging, whose morality is free of objectification, whose morality is incorruptible, whose morality is praised by the wise, whose morality is praised by the holy ones. They should rejoice in the giving of gifts, that is to say, they should apply themselves vigorously to the highest gift, the supreme gift, the gift of the Dharma. They should station themselves in mindfulness. They should be endowed with faith. They should possess gentleness and modesty, and be endowed with bashfulness. They should be unattached to gain, honour, and praise. They should be free of meanness and jealousy, and practise the ascetic qualities and frugality (Skt. *dhūtaguṇa-saṃlekha*). They should not engage in worldly discourse, but,

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2 I do not understand what the Tib. means by *lha 'am lha la la zhig tu gyur cig*. T.418 (909b23-24) has: 'May I in a later life be born either as a *deva* or as a Cakravartin King;' while T.416 (883a3-4) reads: 'May I in the future obtain rebirth in heaven, or be born to power among humankind, having rebirth and receiving rewards.'

rejecting [that] discourse, should engage in supramundane discourse. They should be grateful and appreciative. They should keep their voices down and their speech to a minimum. They should be respectful and reverent. That is, because of the rarity of good friends, they should be enthusiastic about doing honour to teachers and preceptors. As for those persons from whom they might hear, accept, and copy in book-form such dharmas as these, upon whom they might depend for their exegesis, and those persons from whom they master or might master, copy in book-form or might copy in book-form such a *sūtra* as this, they should evoke the apperception of [them as their] fathers; they should evoke the apperception of [them as their] good friends; and they should evoke the apperception of [them as] the Teacher. For the sake of such dharmas as these and for the purpose of bringing awakening to maturation they should evince towards them great joy, faith, and respect.'

[9E] 'If, Bhadrapāla, sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna, or adherents of the Śrāvakayāna, or adherents of the Pratyekabuddhayāna do not evince joy, faith, and respect towards the *bhikṣus* who preach the Dharma of such dharmas as these, and if they do not evoke the apperception of [them as their] good friends or evoke the apperception of [them as] the Teacher, then, Bhadrapāla, there will be no possibility or chance that those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna or adherents of the Śrāvakayāna or adherents of the Pratyekabuddhayāna will ever master such dharmas as these that they have not [already] mastered, or that the dharmas that they have [already] mastered will remain, not be lost, and not vanish. There will not even be any possibility of those sons of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna obtaining this *samādhi*. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because it is through lack of respect that the True Dharma disappears.'

[9F] 'If, Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna or those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Śrāvaka- or Pratyekabuddhayānas evince joy, faith and respect, and also evoke the apperception of good friend and the apperception of Teacher towards the *bhikṣus* who teach such dharmas as these and towards those from whom they might master, have mastered, and have copied in book-form such a discourse on Dharma (Skt. *dharma-paryāya*) as this, then, Bhadrapāla, the

possibility will exist, it will be possible that those sons or daughters of good family who are adherents of the Bodhisattvayāna or adherents of the Śrāvakayāna or adherents of the Pratyekabuddhayāna will master dharmas that they have not [already] mastered, and that the dharmas that they have mastered will remain, not be lost, and not vanish.'

[9G] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you: with regard to the *bhikṣus* who teach such dharmas one should in this way evince joy, faith, and respect, and one should evoke the apperception of good friend and the apperception of Teacher--this is my admonition.'

[9H] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life and who wish to receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi* should be free of regret (Skt. *kaukṛtya*). They should enjoy the forest, be inclined to the forest, bent on the forest, intent on the forest. They should take no pleasure in inhabited regions. By not hankering after the houses of friends or the houses of givers of food they should have no regard for [their own] life. Through renouncing the body they should be unattached to the body and acquire the apperception of the forest.[3] They should not cling to gain, honour, or praise, and should hold fast to the True Dharma. They should not be attached to or hoard up bowls or robes. They should beg for alms without requiring invitations. They should have shame and be remorseful. They should not appropriate gold. Through being without obsession they should be free of regret. Through eliminating anger they should abide in friendliness. Through eliminating harmfulness they should abide in compassion. Through eliminating joylessness they should abide in sympathetic joy. Through eliminating all signs (Skt. *nimitta*) they should abide in disinterestedness. Through applying themselves vigorously they should desire training. Unconquered by sloth or torpor they should take to walking up and down. Therefore, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life and who wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it and cultivate it should receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi* established in those dharmas.'

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3 Presumably this means that they should direct their attention away from their own persons and towards the environment they find themselves in. The expression *araṇya-saṃjñā* occurs frequently in the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta*, M.iii.104-109.

[9I] When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how wonderful are these dharmas so great and excellent, which the *Tathāgata* has taught and spoken of!'

'Reverend Lord, any lazy *bodhisattvas* who appear will be afraid, frightened, and fearful when they hear this *samādhi.* They will not evince great joy, gladness, and faith with regard to those who expound such excellent dharmas, and they will think: "We shall realise this *samādhi* under other *Tathāgatas, Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones. Right now our bodies are emaciated and riddled with infirmities," and when they hear this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present they will be discouraged and dismayed, and they will not summon up the vigour to realise this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.'

[9J] 'But, Reverend Lord, any *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* that appear who do apply themselves with vigour, are established in mindfulness, seek the Dharma, respect the Dharma, accept the Dharma, teach the Dharma, preach the Dharma, take up the Dharma, pursue the dharmas concomitant with Dharma (Skt. *dharmānudharma*), renounce person and life, are not dependent on gain, honour or praise, do not seek renown for their good qualities, are unattached to bowls and robes, take no pleasure in villages, cities, market-towns, inhabited regions, kingdoms, realms, and royal capitals, are inclined to the forest, bent on the forest, and intent on the forest--when these ones hear this *bodhisattvas*' *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, they will not be discouraged or dismayed, or afraid, or frightened, or fearful, but rather they will feel great joy, gladness, and faith. And they will apply themselves with great vigour in order to accept, master, keep, read, copy, teach, and cultivate this *samādhi.*'

[9K] 'Reverend Lord, these sons or daughters of good family will not seek great learning from future Buddhas, nor will they exert themselves [merely] for the sake of realising formulas (Skt. *mantra*), good qualities, or excellent dharmas. Even if that might be so, Reverend Lord, at a future time any sons or daughters of good family that appear who have done their duty under former *Jinas* and applied themselves with vigour will, on hearing such a *samādhi* as

this spoken by the *Tathāgata*, think: "We would rather that our body, skin, flesh, blood, bone, sinew and marrow should dry and shrivel up in this very place than that we should die after growing so lazy, or that we should slacken our vigour without having mastered, expounded, and cultivated such great and excellent dharmas as these!" and so they will apply themselves with vigour. On hearing *sūtras* of this kind spoken by the *Tathāgata*, such good men as those, who constantly apply themselves with vigour, will feel very great joy, gladness and faith, as soon as they hear them.'

[9L] When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Well done, well done, Bhadrapāla! Your exposition, Bhadrapāla, of the concomitant dharmas is without error, just so, correct, and well done. I also rejoice at it, and whatever I rejoice at, at that the Buddhas and Lords of the past, future, and present also rejoice.'

[9M] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[4]

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4 The five *gāthās* which follow are not found in this position in T.416, but the first four of them do appear at a later stage (885c12-19), in a collection of verses which I have designated as 13L, which follows the verse proper of Chap. 13 (see 13L, n. 13.22). In T.416 the prose sections of Chaps. 11 and 13 succeed the prose of Chap. 9 without any indication of a formal break, the prose parts of Chap. 10 and Chap.12 being omitted in their entirety (along with the *gāthās* of 12; the verse section of Chap. 10 is also included in 13L, together with some of the verses of Chap. 11). All this notwithstanding, Chaps. 9-12 appear in T.418 basically as they do in the Tibetan.

Leaving the question of the verses for the time being (once again, see n. 13.22), what we have here is a substantial re-organisation of the text. The absence from Jñānagupta's translation of most of the material dealing with female followers of the Mahāyāna (Chap. 10 with *bhikṣuṇīs*, Chap. 12 with *upāsikās*) indicates the existence of a separate redaction of the *PraS* (which we might conveniently label the 'Misogynist Redaction'). Of course, we cannot be absolutely sure that the removal of these chapters was not at the discretion of Jñānagupta himself, but we might point out here that the *SZPPSL*, in which the quotations from the *PraS* are clearly based on a text very close to that used by Jñānagupta, contains a good deal of the prose of Chaps. 9 and 11 (*bhikṣus* and *upāsakas*), yet shows no trace of Chaps. 10 and 12. Naturally we cannot place too much weight on an argument *ex silentio*, but a separate Sanskrit redaction of the *PraS* does appear to be indicated here. As has been pointed out elsewhere, T.416 does in general represent a slightly more amplified or

[1] 'If one trains in all those items of training in the Prātimokṣa
Expounded by me, keeps to the forest,
And always practises the ascetic qualities (Skt. *dhūta-guṇa*),
This *samādhi* will not be difficult to obtain.

[2] Having rejected all invitations,
And having eliminated all desire for tastes,
Perceive those from whom you hear it as the Teacher,
And evoke the apperception of [their] sameness

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developed form of the text by contrast with the Tib. version, and it may well be that the process which lead to that amplification also saw the omission of certain portions of the text; in any case an examination of T.418 shows that these chapters on women followers of the Mahāyāna were included in an early form of the *PraS* , and we must admit that it is more likely that in this case original material has dropped out of the text, rather than that T.416 represents an even earlier form of the work than T.418.

To return to the matter of the *gāthās*, T.418 preserves--in the 'proper' place--six verses (910a3-14) of which only the first two correspond with any closeness to the Tibetan; the last four run as follows:

Those who recite and practise this *samādhi*
Must be vigorous, and not lazy;
Not grudging with the *sūtra*-dharma,
They do not seek offerings, yet give the Dharma. [3]
They who accept this *samādhi*,
Are then sons of this Buddha;
They who study and practise it thus
Will obtain the *samādhi* before long. [4]
Constantly exert strength, do not be lazy,
Eliminate torpor, liberate the mind;
You should shun evil companions,
Then pursue the practice of this dharma. [5]
Discarding indulgence, not resting,
Ever avoiding the meetings of the multitude,
Bhikṣus seeking this *samādhi*
Should do this, following the Buddha's teaching. [6]

However, at 13L T.418 also has four verses, like T.416, which correspond with the first four verses of 9M (see 912a23-b1). As for the fifth verse in the Tib., it could possibly be a contraction of the last two verses given above from T.418, utilising those phrases which I have underlined. It does not appear in T.416. See n. 13.22 for a further discussion of the possibilities involved; see also 13L for a translation of the verses found in T.416.

and equality [with him].

[3] Having eliminated envy, desire, and pride,
And having eliminated lust, hatred, and delusion,
And having engendered thought connected with trance,
One should enter into this *samādhi*.

[4] Being free of envy, having eliminated lust,
Being well restrained, having eliminated anger,
And having purified one's object of attention, the *Jina*'s body,
One should enter into this *samādhi*.

[5] Without slackening one's vigour or being overcome by torpor,
Without associating with relatives and friends,
Walking up and down, reject association with the multitude,
And develop this spotless *samādhi*.'

Chapter Nine of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

CHAPTER TEN

[10A]

BAMPO FOUR

When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, if any *bhikṣuṇīs* who have set out in the Mahāyāna wish, when they hear this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, to receive instruction in it or cultivate it, then, Reverend Lord, established in which dharmas should they receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi*?'

[10B] When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, any *bhikṣuṇīs* who have set out in the Mahāyāna who wish, when they hear this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or to cultivate it should always be respectful. They should always be free of envy, and not be angry. They should have conquered pride, be free of arrogance, and apply themselves with vigour. They should be free of laziness, and eliminate sloth and torpor. They should exert themselves in the endeavour not to sleep, and eliminate all striving after gain, honour and praise, robes, food, beds and seats, medicine to cure the sick, and personal belongings. They should be pure in their living, and unattached to their persons or their lives. They should always desire the Dharma, and exert themselves in the quest for great learning. They should have thoughts which are free of lust, hatred, and delusion. They should reject the followers of Māra. They should do away with massaging, ornamentation, and bodily decoration. They should not be attached to bowls or robes. They should not hanker after fame, they should be free of slander and eliminate fickleness.'

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, those *bhikṣuṇīs* who have set out in the Mahāyāna who wish, when they hear this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or to cultivate it should receive instruction in this *samādhi* while evoking the apperception of Teacher with regard to their teacher; they should cultivate this *samādhi* when they are established in those dharmas.'

[10C] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[1]

[1] 'If any *bhikṣuṇīs* who desire this *samādhi*
Always show respect and eliminate envy, anger,
Pride, and likewise arrogance,
This *samādhi* will not be difficult to obtain.

[2] If they come to seek this *samādhi*,
When they have applied themselves with vigour, eliminated torpor,
And eliminated all striving,
Let them desire the Dharma without attachment even to life.

[3] Those who desire to take up this *samādhi*
Should not continue with thoughts of lust and hatred,
Afflicted by the defilements;
And let them never be caught in Māra's snare.

[4] Those who wish to take up this *samādhi*
Should not conduct themselves deceitfully,
And should reject all massaging, ornamentation,
Slander and fickleness.

[5] They take no thought, not even for an instant,
For the sake of bowls, or for the sake of words of praise;
Let them perceive those from whom they hear it as the Teacher,
And evoke the apperception of [their] sameness
and equality [with him].'

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1 T.418 (910a27-b9) has these five *gāthās*, plus an extra one which appears between (Tib.) Verses 4 and 5. It runs:

Rejecting petty friendliness, ever greatly friendly,
Honouring the good friend unceasingly,
They should avoid all evils,
Thus they should seek the *samādhi*.

A variant translation of Verses 1, 2, 3, and 5 may be found in T.418 at 13L (912b6-15). As mentioned above, T.416 contains no prose version of Chapter 10, but does preserve its *gāthās* at 13L (88a1-10), to which I refer the reader for its translation of them.

Chapter Ten of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

CHAPTER ELEVEN

[11A] When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, if householder *bodhisattvas* wearing the white garb and living in a household should wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or cultivate it, even for one or two days, then, Reverend Lord, established in which dharmas should they receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi*?'

[11B] The Lord said:

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, if householder *bodhisattvas* wearing the white garb and living in a household should wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or cultivate it, even for one or two days, or even for the time it takes to milk a cow, then those householder *bodhisattvas* wearing the white garb and living in a household should be possessed of faith. They should be free of avarice, and be free in their liberality. They should delight in distributing gifts, and should give away all of their wealth without expecting recompense. They should take refuge in the Buddha. They should take refuge in the Dharma. They should take refuge in the Saṅgha. They should be pure in morality. They should undertake the five rules of training. They should have no other gods,[1] and their intent should [be to] follow the Buddha. They should be faultless in morality, and when they have taken up and fulfilled the ten good ways of action they should inspire others to them also; and they should turn away from the drinking of intoxicants. They should not tempt [others to it?]. They should describe to others the unpleasantness of intoxicants and not give intoxicants to others; they should disparage sensual desires to others and live the holy life. They should be without envy. They should be pure in their living.'

[11C] 'They should not covet sons. They do not covet daughters. Let them not covet their wives. They should not covet wealth. They should not covet

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1 Tib. *lha gzhan med par bya*, probably from Sanskrit *ananyadeva*. Cf. *BHSD*, s.v. *ananyadeva*; noting that 'not having other gods' is hardly 'implausible' here (see also 12B and 12Cv2).

houses. They should delight in going forth, and have their mind set on going forth. They should be intent on this *samādhi* of [while observing?] the eightfold fast (Skt. *aṣṭaṅgopavāsa/poṣadha*), and they should stay in the *vihāra*.[2] They should possess shame and modesty, have their mind bent upon awakening, and not desire any other vehicle. They should not abuse *bhikṣus* who are endowed with morality. They should have respect and reverence for those who lead the holy life. They should regard those teachers from whom they have received instruction in this *samādhi* with the greatest affection, they should have faith and respect for them. [Towards them] they should also evoke the apperception of good friend; they should also evoke the apperception of Teacher. They should provide them with all things needful for comfort. They should continue to be grateful, appreciative and respectful--that is the way, Bhadrapāla, in which householder *bodhisattvas* living in a household should apply themselves to this *samādhi*; and those are the dharmas established in which they should cultivate this *samādhi*.'

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2 Mention of the *samādhi* at this point by the Tib. is a little puzzling, and it is not found in the Chinese (nor in the *SZPPSL*). T.416 (884a14) has: 'They observe the eightfold fast, staying constantly in the monastery (伽藍, usual rendering of *saṅghārāma*).' T.418 (910b18) is more specific: 'They always uphold the eightfold fast, and at the time of the fast they should always fast in the Buddha-monastery (佛寺).' What the Tib. implies is that the lay *bodhisattva* is to practise the *samādhi* while observing the Poṣadha/Upavāsa (Pāli Uposatha) within the confines of the monastery (cf. 11Dv2); but '*samādhi*' here may be an interpolation, since no other version supports it. However, note that LNP (i.e. the Tshal-pa redaction) omit '*di* (*Text*, p. 96, 1. 15, n. 1), thereby suggesting that one ought merely to practise *samādhi*, or meditation in general, during the Upavāsa.

[11D] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[3]

[1] 'Any *bodhisattvas* living in a household
Who wish to take up this *samādhi*,
Should, once they have become constantly pure in morality,
Have evinced a firm aspiration to go forth,

[2] And have undertaken the five rules of training,
Embark upon this *samādhi*
While undertaking the eightfold Poṣadha,
And staying in the *vihāra* without renouncing their households.

[3] They should not give anyone intoxicants to drink,
And having rejected all beverages not commended by the Buddha
And established themselves in these items of training,
They should receive instruction in this *samādhi*.

[4] Not desiring sons, not desiring daughters,
Not desiring wives, nor desiring houses,
When *upāsakas* are endowed with shame
They should embark upon this *samādhi*.

[5] They should be healthy [?],[4] and not speak ill
Of anyone at all, rejecting all the multitude;
Having established themselves in faultlessness and patient acceptance
They should embark upon this *samādhi*.

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3 Six *gāthās* appear in T.418 at this point; they contain most of the subject matter found in the Tibetan, but it is organised differently, and there is seldom the one-to-one correspondence between verses which we usually encounter. T.418 also preserves separate translations of Verses 4 and 5 in 13L (912b2-5). T.416 has four verses of Chap. 11 (1, 2, 4 and 5) at 13L (885c20-27), but nothing at this point.

4 T.416 (13Lv8) has: 'They should not evoke the thought of harm towards any other,' suggesting that in the first *pāda nad* means 'harm' or 'injury' rather than 'sickness'.

[6] If any embark upon this holy *samādhi*,
Let them always be respectful to the Buddha and the Dharma,
And let them, with minds faithful, unshakeable and free of envy,
Be willing to do honour to the Saṅgha.'

Chapter Eleven of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWELVE

[12A] When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla addressed the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, if *upāsikās* who have set out in the Mahāyāna should wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or to cultivate it, then, Reverend Lord, established in which dharmas should they receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi*?'

[12B] When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, *upāsikās* who have set out in the Mahāyāna and who wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or cultivate it should undertake the five rules of training. Bhadrapāla, *upāsikās* should go to the three for refuge,[1] and not have any other gods.[2] Bhadrapāla, *upāsikās* should reject lucky omens and portents, and be free of deception. Bhadrapāla, *upāsikās* should be unaffected in their deportment, and be free of avarice. Bhadrapāla, *upāsikās* should rejoice in the distribution of gifts, and desire the Dharma. Bhadrapāla, *upāsikās* should be of a questioning nature,[3] and be respectful and reverent. If they see *bhikṣus* or *bhikṣuṇīs* they should offer them a seat.'

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, if *upāsikās* who have set out in the Mahāyāna should wish, on hearing this *samādhi*, to receive instruction in it or to cultivate it, then those *upāsikās* should receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi* when they are established in dharmas of that sort.'

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1 T.418 defines the 'Triple Refuge' at this point (910c10-11).

2 Cf. n. 11.1.

3 I presume that receptivity, i.e. an appropriately submissive desire to be instructed in spiritual matters, is intended here, rather than a critical spirit of enquiry.

[12C] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[4]

[1] '*Upāsikās* who aspire to this *samādhi*
Authorised by the Buddhas and praised by the *Sugatas*,
Should embark upon this *samādhi*
Having undertaken the five rules of training.

[2] Respectful, and having no other gods
Apart from the Buddha, the Dharma, and likewise the Saṅgha,
Having rejected all wrong paths,
They should embark upon this *samādhi*.

[3] Not killing living things, not taking what is not given,
And not uttering falsehoods,
Never committing sexual misconduct,
They should receive instruction in this *samādhi*.

[4] Free of avarice, not expecting recompense,
Having done away with all affectations of deportment,
Eliminating envy, pride, and anger,
They should receive instruction in this *samādhi*.

[5] If they see *bhikṣus* and likewise *bhikṣuṇīs*,
They should rise respectfully and offer them a seat;
Desiring the Dharma, and seeking whatever is auspicious [?],
They should receive instruction in this *samādhi*.'

Chapter Twelve,
'The *Upāsikās*',
of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

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4 Six *gāthās* appear in T.418 (910c18-29), corresponding roughly in order and sense to their Tibetan counterparts. Verse 2 in Tib. is expanded into two verses in T.418. As noted before, this chapter is totally unrepresented in T.416.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

[T.418: Chapter Seven, The Prediction]

[13A] When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how marvellous it is that for the sake of *bodhisattvas* who have gone forth from the household life, and for the sake of *bodhisattvas* of great desire [?],[1] those endowed with resolve, those who have applied themselves with vigour, those who do not give up exertion, and those who have set out for supreme and perfect awakening, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One has thus described the great and excellent dharmas established in which they should receive instruction in and cultivate this *samādhi*!'

'Reverend Lord, at a future time, in that age following the Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata, will this *samādhi* circulate and spread here in Jambudvīpa?'

[13B] The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, for four thousand years[2] after my Parinirvāṇa this *samādhi*

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1 Tib. *'dod chen po* (DLNP: *pa*), which generally renders BHS *icchantika*, normally understood as referring to a being devoid of the capacity for awakening (see *BHSD*, s.v.). This can hardly be intended here, unless the term originally designated someone unwilling to leave the household life, and only later assumed the more serious and restrictive sense.

2 Despite the fact that the Tibetan text definitely has 'four thousand years', there are several good reasons for believing that this represents a later form of the *PraS*, and that earlier forms of the text had 'forty years'.

First of all, the scenario that is put forward in the *gāthās* of this chapter (see esp. 13Kv8-11) is that of a band of 500 faithful followers who undertake responsibility for the preservation of the *sūtra*. After the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa they write the *sūtra* down and conceal it in various places before their own demise and subsequent rebirth in one of the *deva*-worlds. There they remain until the 'last time', when they are once more born in the human realm, rediscover the *sūtra*, and proclaim it to others. To assert then that the *sūtra* circulates for **four thousand** years after the Parinirvāṇa before disappearing underground would be to assign an excessive life-span to these 500 followers of the Buddha. Forty years, on the other hand, is a reasonable length of time for them to survive their master and to deposit the text in the various locations suggested by 13Kv9.

The second reason for assuming an original reading of 'forty years' is the fact that it is supported by two Chinese versions, namely T.418 and the SYM text of T.416. Because of the importance of the passage, the rendering of section 13B in these two versions is here given in full: T.418 (911a5-10):

> The Buddha said to the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla: 'After my Parinirvāṇa this *samādhi* will appear for forty years; thereafter it will no longer appear. Then, in the latter age of confusion, at the time when the Buddhadharma is about to perish, when *bhikṣus* no longer accept the Buddha's teaching, at the time of the latter age of confusion, when kingdom takes up arms against kingdom, at that time this *samādhi* will again appear in Jambudvīpa; because of the Buddha's might, this *samādhi* will again emerge.'

T.416 (884a27-b7):

> The Buddha said to the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla: 'Bhadrapāla, after my Nirvāṇa this *samādhi-sūtra* will circulate widely in the world, in Jambudvīpa, for forty [K: four thousand] years; then, during the last hundred years [!] when the True Dharma perishes, when the conduct of *bhikṣus* is bad, when the True Dharma is reviled, when the True Dharma is destroyed, when those who uphold morality decrease, when those who violate morality are numerous, when kingdoms take up arms against each other, at this time there will be a few beings with purified wholesome potentialities, who have formerly attended upon Buddhas, made offerings, cultivated themselves, and planted good seeds, and so that these heroes may obtain this *sūtra*, this *samādhisūtra* will again circulate in Jambudvīpa, that is, by virtue of the Buddha's might, so that they, after my Nirvāṇa , may on hearing this *sūtra* rejoice and copy it, read it, take it up, meditate on its meaning, expound it to others, and practise it as expounded.

Lastly, a reading of 'four thousand years' would, when taken with the traditional notion of the last five hundred years, produce a date for the final disappearance of the True Dharma of 4,500 years after the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, more if we take into account the unspecified period of time the *sūtra* spends 'underground'. Such an exaggerated chronology is hardly to be expected in a *sūtra* in circulation by the end of the second century C.E. (see Lamotte 1958: 211-217, esp. 215ff. for examples of the longer chronologies which became current at quite a late date, i.e. 5th and 6th centuries).

We ought also to consider the intentions of the composer(s) of the *PraS*. The scenario outlined above constitutes an authenticating device that both explains the sudden appearance of the *sūtra* in the world and vindicates those who champion it by identifying them with Bhadrapāla and his 500 followers (see e.g. 13Kv13-15). The composers of the *PraS* are therefore likely to have

will circulate and spread in Jambudvīpa. Thereafter it will go into a cave in the ground. Further, when the last five hundred years, the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, when the ruin of the True Dharma occurs, the ruin of *śramaṇas* occurs, the rejection of the True Dharma occurs, the ruin of beings occurs, the state is in disorder, when the time comes when the party of the moral ones dwindles, when the time comes when the party of the immoral ones increases, when the time comes when the party of the True Dharma dwindles, when the time comes when the party of the False Dharma increases, when the time of destruction comes, a few beings will appear who, for the sake of obtaining such a *sūtra* as this, will have purified their wholesome potentialities, done their duty under former *Jinas*, created wholesome potentialities, brought their wholesome potentialities to maturity, and planted seeds, and for the benefit of such beings as those, that is, by the might of the Buddha, this *samādhi* will circulate and spread in Jambudvīpa.'

'And they, on hearing this *samādhi*, will feel great joy, gladness, and faith. Having heard it they will accept, keep, read, master, copy, expound, spread, and exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it; they will also copy it in book-form and keep it.'

[13C] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Ratnākara and the Licchavi youths,[3] on hearing from the Lord

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regarded themselves as living in the last age (possibly the second of two 500-year periods, which would have begun sometime around the first century of our era). However, as the horizon of the Buddhist apocalypse receded and longer and longer chronologies began to gain currency, thereby pushing the event into the distant future, the actual historical existence of the *PraS* in the world became a problem which could only be explained away by extending the initial 40-year period of its circulation. This is conceivably the reason why in later forms of the text of the *PraS* 'forty years' became 'four thousand years'.

[3] Both Chinese versions and later indications in the Tibetan itself (e.g. mention of the eight *satpuruṣa* in 13Kv13) show that the Tibetan translation at this point--*byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rin chen 'byung gnas dang / li tsa bī gzhon nus*--is in error: Ratnākara is both a Licchavi and a *bodhisattva*, and there is no question here of more than one person. But I have rendered the Tibetan as it stands, since the original translation (and possibly even the Sanskrit text on which it was based) undoubtedly did not understand *licchavi-kumāra* here to be an epithet of Ratnākara. In this case as in others, I consider myself entitled to emend the Tibetan text only when its errors are clearly transmissional.

that in the last time this True Dharma would change and be destroyed,[4] wept and shed tears through the impact of Dharma. Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Ratnākara and the Licchavi youths wiped away their tears, and having risen from their seats and arranged their upper garments on one shoulder, they put their right knees to the ground, extended their joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

[13D] 'Reverend Lord, even when the last five hundred years after the *Tathāgata*'s Nirvāṇa occur, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, and when the True Dharma is rejected,[5] we shall accept, master, copy, preserve, read, propagate, and exert ourselves in the endeavour to cultivate such *sūtras* as these. Why is that? Because, Reverend Lord, we never tire of hearing, copying, accepting, mastering, preserving, reading, expounding, propagating and cultivating profound *sūtras* of this kind, which the *Tathāgata* has spoken.'

[13E] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Mahāsusārthavāha the householder; the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Guhagupta the merchant's son; the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Naladatta the brahman youth;[6] the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Susīma; the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Indradatta; and the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Varuṇadeva,[7] on hearing from the Lord that in the last five hundred years, in the last time, the last age, in the last five centuries this True Dharma would change and be destroyed, wept and shed tears through the impact of Dharma. Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Mahāsusārthavāha the householder; Guhagupta the merchant's son; Naladatta the brahman youth; the son of good family Susīma; Indradatta; and the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Varuṇadeva wiped away their tears, and having

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4 I have translated the Tib.--*dam pa'i chos 'di 'gyur ba dang / rnam par 'jig pa*--literally here. It is difficult to know the precise significance of *'gyur ba*, but what may underlie the Tib. is some nominal phrase derived from the usual *saddharmavipralope vartamāne*, 'when the ruin of the True Dharma occurs' (e.g. *SP*, p. 169.24), perhaps *saddharma-vipralopaṃ vartamānam*. Otherwise *'gyur ba* could represent some Sanskrit word for 'change', e.g. *vipariṇāma*. See also 13E, 13G.

5 Cf. T.416 (884b10-14), where the full formula is rehearsed (as in 13B).

6 See n. 1.15.

7 See n. 1.21.

risen from their seats and arranged their upper garments on one shoulder, they put their right knees to the ground, extended their joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

[13F] 'Reverend Lord, at a future time, even when the last five hundred years after the *Tathāgata*'s Nirvāṇa occur, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, and when the True Dharma is rejected, we too shall accept, master, copy, preserve, read, expound widely to others, and cultivate such *sūtras* as these.'

'Reverend Lord, we shall perpetuate, magnify, and spread this supreme and perfect awakening which has been achieved by *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones over hundreds and thousands of *koṭinayutas* of *kalpas*. Why is that, Reverend Lord? Because we accept and proclaim dharmas which have never before been heard.'

'Reverend Lord, we shall cultivate and teach the profound Dharma in which all the inhabitants of the world will not believe.'

[13G] Thereupon from amongst those assembled groups five hundred beings--*bhikṣus*, *bhikṣunīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*--rose from their seats, and being respectful and reverent, when they heard from the Lord of the time during which the True Dharma would be destroyed and the True Dharma would not be accepted, when the last five hundred years occurred, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occurred, they wept and shed tears through the impact of [hearing about] the transformation of the True Dharma.

Thereupon those five hundred beings wiped away their tears, and having arranged their upper garments on one shoulder and put their right knees to the ground, they extended their joined palms towards the Lord and said to the Lord:

[13H] 'Reverend Lord, when the last five hundred years after the *Tathāgata*'s Parinirvāṇa occur, when the last time, the last age, the last five centuries occur, we too shall accept, cultivate, and proclaim widely to others such *sūtras* as these. We shall also render personal service to these good men. At that time we shall also listen to such a *sūtra* as this, which was spoken by the *Tathāgata*. There too we shall take up the True Dharma. With this jewel of the True Dharma we shall also serve others who are fit vessels of the True Dharma. Lord, we request you to entrust this *samādhi* to these good men. Lord, we

request you to impart this *samādhi* to these good men.'

[13I] Thereupon at that time the Lord smiled a smile the colour of gold, which filled infinite world-systems with light; after mounting right up to the Brahmaloka it surpassed even the light of the sun and moon; on returning, it circled the Lord clockwise three times, and vanished into the parting of the Lord's top-knot.

[13J] Thereupon the Venerable Ānanda, having risen from his seat and arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, put his right knee to the ground, extended his joined palms towards the Lord, and praised the Lord with these appropriate verses:[8]

[1] 'Pure in morality, pure in range,
Great in magic power even among those of great might,
Most excellent of all beings,
Fair as the spotless sun,

[2] Endowed with unattached cognition, with mind
thoroughly liberated,
Endowed with the voice of the Kalaviṅka, O *deva* of *devas*,
Unperturbed by all rival teachers,
What is the reason for smiling this smile?

[3] Out of concern, O compassionate Lord of the Two-footed,
I request you to teach with the luminous ultimate truth;
If one hears your delightful voice,
One obtains holy and spiritual (Skt. *nirāmiṣa*) joy.

[4] Since the Best of *Jinas*, the Guide, the Supreme Person
Does not smile without a reason,
Out of concern for the world I ask you, compassionate one:
What is the reason for smiling this smile?

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8 Six verses appear in both T.418 and T.416 (see Concordance), although the last three *gāthās* in both versions exhibit considerable variation in the arrangement of the material.

[5] Lord of the World, since you have smiled,
To whose great advantage will it be today?
Who will be firmly established in Buddha-cognition?
Who today will obtain the highest kingship?

[6] Who today will be firmly established in merit?
Who will take up this treasury of the Dharma?
Who today will put on the great diadem,
Setting it on their own head with their own hands?'

[13K] Thereupon the Lord replied to Ānanda with these verses:[9]

[1] 'Ānanda, behold these five hundred companions assembled,
Standing before me with joyful thoughts
And declaring:
"Let us obtain this Dharma!"

[2] They also look at me,
Saying: "When shall we become like this?"
"We accept this supreme awakening,"
They declare, standing before me.

[3] In order to proclaim these *sūtras*
In the future, the last time, when such things have come to pass,
These five hundred have stood forward
Headed by these eight wise ones.

[4] I announce to you, I inform you:
In this my cognition is unchecked;
These men have not stood forward
After making obeisance to [only] one *Jina*.

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9 Here follow in the Tibetan 34 verses. T.418 has them all, but transposes Verses 6 and 7 and features one extra verse (912a11-12) between Verses 29 and 30. T.416 follows the Tibetan exactly.

[5] I remember them of old, when, in previous births,
Full eighty thousand Buddhas appeared;
Before them also these ones, led by the eight, stood forth
In order to proclaim these dharmas.

[6] Much longer ago even than that
There appeared eighty thousand *koṭinayutas*
Of those pure in morality, great in renown,
And from them also they accepted this great dharma.[10]

[7] Aspiring to and taking up
My great teachings as well,
With joyful thoughts and incomparable gladness
They urge many to the aspiration to awakening.

[8] In the last time, after I have entered Nirvāṇa,
And all the relics have been distributed,
When they have fully taken up this[11] Buddha-awakening,
Copied it and placed it in a casket,

[9] And when they have put the *sūtra* in a *stūpa*,
In the earth, under rocks, and in the mountains,
And into the hands of *devas* and likewise *nāgas*,
They will go to share the lot (Skt. *sahavratā*) of the *devas*.[12]

[10] In the last time and age, in different families
After descending again, giving up everything,
When they have fully taken up this awakening[13] of a Buddha,
They will act in accordance with their resolve.

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10 In T.418 the order of Verses 6 and 7 is reversed (see 911b21-24).

11 *Text* has *byang chub 'di dag*; 'these awakenings' (i.e. these texts which embody awakening) is possible, but *dag* here is more likely to be a metric filler; see Hahn 1971: 45, 206.

12 I.e. are reborn in the *devaloka*, as both Chinese versions make quite clear. On Skt. *sahavratā*, see *BHSD*, s.v.

13 Cf. n. 13.11.

[11] Through the desire for this dharma they will proceed
Hither and thither, and obtain this excellent *sūtra*;
Having obtained it, with minds rejoicing
They will bestow it on many people without attachment.

[12] Having renounced their persons and likewise their lives
Those wise ones, with their insatiable desire for the Dharma,
Will not agree with any rival teachers,
And will give the Dharma which is excellent and great.

[13] Apart from all these five hundred
Who have stood forth in my presence,
No-one else will accept,
Preserve, or read this *sūtra*.

[14] The eight *bhikṣus* and likewise, in the north,
Many who accept and rejoice in preserving the Dharma,
And who desire the Dharma, compassionate and
concerned for the world,
Will appear, in order to accept it.[14]

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[14] This is a difficult verse to translate, as the relationship of its terms is not exactly clear. T.418 (911c8-9) is of no assistance at all, apart from suggesting that the 'eight *bhikṣus*' of the Tib. should be taken as referring to the eight *bodhisattvas*:

These eight *bodhisattvas*--Bhadrapāla,
Ratnākara, Naladatta,
Mahāsusārthavāha, Varuṇadeva,
Indradatta, Susīma, and Guhagupta--

T.416 (885a28-29) has something closer to the Tibetan:

Then these eight *bodhisattvas*
Will come to Northern India and impart this Dharma;
Constantly rejoicing in spreading it for the benefit of many,
They magnify this very profound *sūtra*.

We may assume that the Sanskrit text originally had *uttare*, which the Tib. has taken as 'in the north' (*byang phyogs su*), as has T.416: 'northern India' (北天). However, it seems to me just as likely that *uttare* was intended in another sense (for which see *BHSD*, s.v. *uttari*), but we must translate in accordance with the

[15] They who shall appear there, unattached to praise and gain,
And preserve the expanded texts (Skt. *vaipulya*)
Will comprise all of these
Five hundred *bhikṣus*, headed by the eight.

[16] These wise and unavaricious *bhikṣus*,
Bhikṣuṇīs, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*
Who have stood forth and will uphold the Dharma in the last time--
They shall all become Supreme Humans and *Jinas*.

[17] Endowed with all inconceivable qualities,
Golden colour, and the marks of a hundred merits,
Being concerned and compassionate, they shall
deliver many beings,
Dispense happiness and remove all defilements.

[18] When they have passed away from here they shall after that
Never go to a state of perdition;
Meeting together in all their rebirths
They shall encounter the Supreme Humans.[15]

[19] They have done away with the eight benighted states,
They have done away with all states of woe,
They have acquired so much immeasurable merit
That one cannot describe the extent of their good qualities.

Tib., and remember to exercise care when it comes to speculation concerning the place of origin of the *PraS*. It is to be noted here that Verses 14-16 in T.418 (911c8-13) display an arrangement of the material different from that found in T.416 and the Tib.

15 For the translation of Tib. *mnyes par byed pa* (Skt. *ārāgayati*) as 'to encounter', cf. n. 7.1. The Chinese have understood it as meaning 'to attain', and have construed the *pāda* differently: T.418 (911c17) has 'Afterwards they shall attain the supreme awakening,' while T.416 (885b8) has a similar sense: 'The *bodhi* that they attain (遇 : 'meet with') will be most excellent.' Cf. 13Kv22, 24.

[20] The Buddha who is to be that they, having met together,
Shall encounter in this Buddha-field,
Will be venerated by them, seeking the supreme path of peace
Out of concern and compassion [for others].[16]

[21] They, having met together throughout the one *kalpa*,[17]
And made offerings to the Lords of the Two-footed,
Shall obtain holy and spiritual acceptance
For the sake of supreme, spotless awakening.

[22] They, as upholders of the Dharma,
Having lived the holy life there under them too
In the last time and likewise the intermediate time,
Shall encounter the Buddha of unlimited life-span.[18]

[23] However many Benefactors of the World and Illuminators
Appear in this Bhadrakalpa,
Their rule of Dharma they also uphold,
As heroes who abide in the three times.

[24] When they have made extensive offerings
To those many *koṭis* of future Buddhas,
Who are inconceivable and immeasurable,
They shall attain the awakening of a Buddha.

[25] They shall experience the peace of awakening;

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16 Translation very doubtful, but from the Chinese it is clear that the Buddha they will meet in this Buddha-field is, as we would expect, Maitreya. E.g. T.418 (911c20-21):

> They shall then encounter the Buddha Maitreya,
> And they shall all of one accord take refuge in him;
> Worshipping him together, equally compassionate,
> They shall attain to the supreme station (句 = *pada*) of peace.

17 Tib. *bskal pa gcig la*, almost certainly Skt. *eka-kalpa*, but apparently understood in a different sense by the Chinese; see e.g. T.418 (911c22).

18 In both Chinese versions named as Maitreya; cf. n. 5.1.

Abiding in that, they shall be revered.
When many *nayutas* of *kalpas* have elapsed,
In that existence their potential will be realised.

[26] This householder Bhadrapāla,
And Ratnākara, mine of jewels,
Susārthavāha, and the brahman youth Guhagupta
Shall see as many Buddhas as there are sands in the Ganges.

[27] They will uphold the Dharma of those
And many *koṭis* of [other] Buddhas besides [?],
Whose numbers one might describe for many *koṭis* of *kalpas*
And still not come to an end.

[28] Those great beings who, even in a dream,
Hear the names and the means of these Heroes
Shall become great *Jinas*.[19]

[29] There is no doubt that they will all attain awakening
Who, having seen them or even heard of them,
Might wish for them or have faith in them,
To say nothing of those who worship them.[20]

[30] For them who take up this inconceivable Dharma,
Their name and similarly their life-span are inconceivable;

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19 One *pāda* of this verse has dropped out. Cf. T.416 (885b27-28):

If certain beings hear the name,
Either while awake or in a dream,
And can utter the heroic Lion Roar,
They shall all become honoured by *devas* and humankind.

20 At this point T.418 has a verse not found elsewhere (see 912a11-12), which reads, if I understand it correctly:

If people who become angry with them and abuse them,
And having evil intent beat them
Through the grace and might of these eight men
Are made to become Buddhas, how much more so those who honour them?

Their radiance is inconceivable, their good qualities are
inconceivable,
Their wisdom and cognition are similarly inconceivable.

[31] In the search for supreme awakening
They have also given great gifts
To former Buddhas, pure in morality,
Who have appeared, as inconceivable as the sands of the Ganges.

[32] Even if it were expounded by many *koṭis* of Buddhas,
Their merit would be utterly immeasurable;
There is no doubt that such sons and friends as they
Shall attain awakening.

[33] Ānanda, anybody who
Accepts or preserves or reads this *sūtra*,
Will without doubt bring joy
To those five hundred people [?].[21]

[34] Ānanda, those who strengthen their zeal
For the purpose of seeking this *sūtra*
And apply themselves with vigour, eliminating sloth,
Shall easily obtain this *samādhi*.'[22]

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[21] The sense is obscure. The verse could also mean that any who do these things are undoubtedly to be counted among the five hundred. The Chinese seems to support this interpretation (cf. T.416, 885c8-9; T. 418, 912a19-20).

[22] Here follows in Tibetan one verse only, but T.416 has fourteen before that one, while in T.418 eleven verses intervene. I have designated these intervening verses as 13L, and the last verse (which is common to all three extant versions of the *PraS*) as 13M. Although somewhat artificial from the point of view of the Tibetan text alone, this seemed to me the best way of handling substantial passages which appear in Chinese but are not represented in Tibetan. The question that confronts us in relation to such passages is: were they originally parts of the *sūtra* which dropped out of the text before it was translated into Tib. (this is an essentially linear view of the text's history)? Or did the *sūtra* originally lack them, and were they subsequently incorporated by one strand of the textual tradition (i.e. that one represented in China)? Such questions do not admit of an easy answer.

To return to 13L, the problem is further compounded when we realise that these 'extra' verses in Chinese (14 in T.416, 11 in T.418) are nearly all of them verses that we have encountered before, namely, *gāthās* from Chaps. 9, 10, and 11, dealing with the behavioural requirements for Mahāyāna *bhiksus*, *upāsakas*, and *bhikṣunīs*. If we number the verses from 1 to 14 according to the order in which they appear in T.416 (and in my translation), we can set out the correspondences in the following fashion:

T.416	T.418	Tibetan	
1 (885c12-13)	1* (912a23-24)	9Mv1	*bhikṣus*
2 (c14-15)	2* (a25-26)	9Mv2	"
3 (c16-17)	3 (a27-28)	9Mv3	"
4 (c18-19)	4 (a29-b1)	9Mv4	"
5 (c20-21)	-	11Dv1	*upāsakas*
6 (c22-23)	-	11Dv2	"
7 (c24-25)	7 (b2-3)	11Dv4	"
8 (c26-27)	8 (b4-5)	11Dv5	"
9 (c28-29)	-	No Correspondence	
10 (886a1-2)	10* (b6-7)	10Cv1	*bhikṣuṇīs*
11 (a3-4)	11* (b8-9)	10Cv2	"
12 (a5-6)	12* (b10-11)	10Cv3	"
13 (a7-8)	13? (b12-13)	10Cv4	"
14 (a9-10)	14* (a14-15)	10Cv5	"

* denotes those verses previously translated by T.418. It will be remembered that in Lokakṣema's version of Chaps. 9-12 not all of the *gāthās* corresponded to those in the Tibetan.

It is not easy to describe what has happened here, far less explain it. In T.416 the prose parts of Chaps. 9, 11, and 13 are run together, to be followed by the verse portion of Chap. 13, most of the *gāthās* of Chap. 9, most of the *gāthās* of Chap. 11, and all of the *gāthās* of Chap.10 (the verses of Chap. 12, dealing with the *upāsikā*, are not to be found). All this is designated as one chapter, the seventh, called 'The Completion of the Practice of Morality' (戒行具足). In T.418 the situation is much more confused. Chaps. 9, 10, 11, and 12 appear in their 'proper' order, each followed by its own set of *gāthās* (many of which correspond with those found in the Tibetan version), and all this is designated as the sixth chapter, 'The Four Classes' (四輩 = *catuṣpariṣad*). Then follows Chap. 13--in T.418, Chap. 7, 'The prediction' (授決 = *vyākaraṇa*)--the verse section of which ends similarly to T.416, i.e. with a collection of verses relating to (Tib.) Chaps. 9, 10, and 11.

One way of explaining this chaotic situation is to regard T.418 as representing the text as it was at an early stage of its history, when it contained, for one reason or another, chunks of verse material in one chapter which either repeated verses found in earlier chapters or related specifically to the prose

[13L] [APPEARS IN CHINESE ONLY; T.416 GIVEN]

[1] 'According to the Prātimokṣa expounded by me in the Vinaya,
Bhikṣus cultivate living in the *araṇya*;
If they are capable of the non-rejection of the *dhūta[-guṇa]s*,

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passages of those chapters. Given this, one might then consider T.416 and the Tib. as embodying two different later attempts to rationalise this state of affairs. That is, T.416 represents the removal of the **earlier** occurences of the verse material (along with some of the prose, for reasons which might possibly be described as monastic and misogynist; see above, n. 9.4), while the Tibetan shows the removal of the **later** occurence of the verse material, with the subsequent use of some of the verses removed to replace those originally found in Chaps. 9-12. This would explain why the Tib. verses for these chapters do not always correspond with the verses of T.418; for example, in the case of Chap. 9, Tib. (i.e. its exemplar) has taken 13Lv1-4 as they appear in T.418 and T.416, and telescoped the last two verses as they appear in T.418's version of the *gāthās* of Chap. 9 to produce the five verses we now have in Tibetan.

It may be objected that this is an unnecessarily linear view of the textual history of the *PraS*, i.e. that it is not necessarily the case that T.416 and the Tib. are both direct descendants of the text that Lokakṣema had in front of him--that there may be three or more separate strands of textual tradition rather than one which later split into two. The validity of this objection cannot be denied, especially since the explanation given above is far from satisfactory. It must be admitted too that in dealing with the text-historical problems of Buddhist *sūtra*-literature we are for the most part groping in the dark, as no methodology has as yet been established for this particular branch of study.

An alternative solution to the problem under consideration turns on the possibility of T.418 being a conflation of two translations, one by Lokakṣema and the other by a later hand. Thus Lokakṣema's text may have resembled the Tibetan in not having the extra verses at 13L, while the later text might have belonged to the same tradition as T.416 (the 'Misogynist Redaction'). When conflated, the two translations representing two redactions may have been combined wiithout any attempt to resolve anomalies like the one we are faced with here. The advantage of this hypothesis is that it explains why the same verses translated in two different places in T.418 can have so little resemblance to each other.

For 13L I have translated the verses as they appear in T.416 in the light of their Tibetan counterparts in earlier chapters. Occasional references are made to T.418, which is generally closer to the Tibetan than T.416 is. Considering the difficulties of Buddhist Chinese, the translation of these verses is put forward as a tentative effort only; I cannot pretend to have done full justice to their obscurities!

They shall doubtless obtain this *samādhi.* [= 9Mv1]

[2] Being able to reject completely all special invitations,
Doing away with all fine tastes,
Always evoking the thought of Buddha with
regard to their teacher--
Who can say they will not realise this *samādhi*? [= 9Mv2]

[3] First understanding the afflictions of lust, anger, and delusion,
Avoiding both arrogance and envy,
With feelings free of impure attachment, reflecting on the
unconditioned (Skt. *asaṃskṛta*)[?],[23]
They recite and develop the excellent *samādhi.* [=9Mv3]

[4] Their thoughts pure, they abide in non-attachment;
They control their faculties and put a stop to hatred;
Singlemindedly they reflect upon the *Tathāgata*'s body;[24]
They recite and accept the true (妙) *samādhi.* [=9Mv4]

[5] If *bodhisattvas* live in a household,
Their thoughts are always firmly set on leaving the household-life;
Accepting and reciting [it], accomplished in word and deed,
Their minds always think of studying this *samādhi.*[25] [=11Dv1]

[6] Constantly they should cultivate the five-fold moral precepts,
And frequently undertake the eight-precept fast;
Ever staying in the monastery and rejecting property,
They recite and cultivate this *samādhi.* [=11Dv2]

[7] They should not be attached to wives and concubines,

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23 Cf. T.418 (912a29): '[They] evoke the thought of awakening (大道心 = *bodhicitta*) and are free of doubt'; and Tib. (9Mv3): *bsam gtan sbyor sems yang dag bskyed byas te.*

24 Cf. T.418 (912b1): 'With vigour they uphold the teaching of the Buddha's Dharma.'

25 Verses 5 and 6 are not found in T.418.

Nor love sons and daughters or possessions;
Upāsakas should practise shame;
They should bear in mind only this *samādhi*. [=11Dv4]

[8] They should not evoke the thought of harm with regard to another,
And only think of eliminating all flirtatiousness;
Without abiding in attachment, they are established
in patient acceptance;
They should only consider cultivating this *samādhi*. [=11Dv5]

[9] They should have no attachment to material possessions,
To flowers, perfumes, unguents, powders, or garlands;
Without abiding in attachment, they are established in that
patient acceptance;
They should only accept this *samādhi*. [= ?]

[10]If *bhikṣuṇīs* seek this *sūtra*,
They should be reverent and eliminate envy,
Flirtatiousness, arrogance, and pride,
And it will not be difficult to realise that *bodhi*. [=10Cv1]

[11]They should apply themselves with vigour and destroy torpor,
Cutting off all striving;
Their minds rejoicing in Dharma, pure in their living,
They should only recite this *samādhi*. [=10Cv2]

[12]Their thoughts should not be accompanied by desire;
They should not give rise to anger, but be free of affliction;
They should not ensnare beings with Māra's bonds;
They should only accept this *samādhi*. [=10Cv3]

[13]They should not do anything with deception;
They should not desire fine robes or cosmetics;
They should not be liars, and should avoid others;
They should only accept this *samādhi*. [=10Cv4]

[14]Taking no thought for the sensual pleasures [?]
of men and women,
Ever calmed, free of all wrong thoughts;
Evoking the apperception of Buddha with regard to their teacher,
They should only accept this *samādhi.*' [=10Cv5]

[13M]

[1] 'Having accepted such *sūtras* as these,
They become those who have gained a true gain, and eliminated the evil destinies,
Who are unfailing in the *Sugata*'s teaching,
And have done away with all the benighted states.'

Chapter Thirteen,
'The Evocation of Enthusiasm'
of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

[T.418: Chapter Eight, Protection;
T.416: Chapter Eight, In Praise of Qualities]

[14A] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Ratnākara the Licchavi youth, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Guhagupta the merchant's son, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Naladatta the brahman youth, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Susīma the son of good family, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Susārthavāha the householder, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Indradatta, and the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Varuṇadeva, together with those five hundred *bodhisattvas*, covered the Lord's body with five hundred double pieces of cotton cloth,[1] because he had spoken so well;[2] they also scattered jewels over the Lord; and they asked the Lord if they could perform service to him.

Then, by means of a discourse on Dharma, the Lord delighted, inspired, exalted and enraptured Bhadrapāla and the rest of those five hundred *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas*. And they made obeisance and sat down in the Lord's presence, their minds joyful, their minds faultless, their minds gentle, their minds agreeable, their minds lucid, their minds free of the obscurations.[3]

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1 T.416 (886a25): 'five hundred outer garments', but T.418 (912b22): 'five hundred *karpāsika*-cotton robes' (reading 棉, 'cotton', for 錦, 'brocade'). On 劫波育 = *karpāsika*, see *BGD*, p. 393a, s.v. *kōhaikue*, which Nakamura cites from T.417, 901c2.

2 The Tibetan appears to have omitted 'rejoicing' here; cf. T.418 (912b22) and T.416 (886a22), which both have something to that effect.

3 Both Chinese versions of this paragraph differ from the Tibetan; e.g. T.416 (886a24-29) has:

> Thereupon the Lord said to Ānanda: 'This *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla will be for this assembly of five hundred disciples the teacher of doctrine and he will expound the essentials of the Dharma, will teach, comfort, and make them rejoice; and by that rejoicing they shall then obtain a mind of obedience, a mind of truth, a mind of purity, a mind free of desires, they shall eliminate the afflictions (*kleśa*) and be free of the obscurations.'
>
> Then the five hundred made obeisance with one mind, paid their respects, prostrated themselves, withdrew and remained on one

[14B] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Lord, how many dharmas must *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* possess to obtain this *samādhi*?'

When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi* if they possess four dharmas. What are the four? They are: not relying on the formulae (Skt. *mantra*) of the other sectarians (Skt. *anya-tīrthika*); not being attached to the sense-qualities; being unsurpassed in the ascetic qualities and frugality; and disparaging opportunities for rebirth in the states of existence. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[14C] 'Bhadrapāla, if any *bodhisattvas* keep, read, copy, preserve, master, or expound widely to others this *samādhi*, then it should be known, Bhadrapāla, that there are five hundred good qualities[4] for those *bodhisattvas* which they will acquire in this very life. What are the five hundred? Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, the bodies of dwellers in friendliness are unharmed by poison, are unharmed by weapons, do not drown in water, are not burned by fire, and kings seeking to get at them cannot find a weak spot, in the same way, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi* are also unharmed by poison, are unharmed by weapons, do not drown in water, are not burned by fire, and kings seeking to get at them cannot find a weak spot.'

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, when the conflagration at the end of the *kalpa* occurs, if *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi* were to leap into the midst of that mass of fire, then that mass of fire would be extinguished, just as, for example, a [small[5]] mass of fire would be extinguished by a large pitcher of water.'

[14D] 'Bhadrapāla, as for those *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*, if

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side.

T.418 (912b23-27) is similar.

4 So also T.418 (912c3); but T.416 (886b9) has simply 'five qualities'. No five hundred qualities are in fact listed.

5 So both Chinese versions.

kings, or robbers, or fire, or water, or living beings, or *nāgas*, or *vetālas*, or *yakṣas*, or *rākṣasas*, or lions, or tigers, or dogs, or foxes, or wolves, or humans, or *amanuṣyas*, or *pretas*, or *kumbhāṇḍas* should [attempt to] interfere with them, there is no possibility or chance, it is impossible that they should interfere with their person, their life, their alms-bowl, their robes, their [pursuit of the] holy life, their preaching, their memorisation, their trance-meditation, or their systematic concentration (Skt. *yoniśo-manasikāra*)--unless it be because of the fruition of former action.'

'Bhadrapāla, as for those *bhikṣus* who preserve this *samādhi*, there is no possibility or chance, it is impossible that they should suffer any malady of the eyes, or suffer any malady of the ears, or suffer any malady of the nose, or suffer any malady of the tongue, or suffer any malady of the body, or suffer any malady of the mind, or that the life of those *bodhisattvas* should cease through any form of malady besides those--unless it be because of the fruition of former action.'[6]

[14E] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the *devas* also protect the *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*. The *nāgas* also protect them. The *yakṣas* also protect them. The *gandharvas* also protect them. Human beings also protect them. The *amanuṣyas* also protect them. The *asuras* also protect them. The *garuḍas* also protect them. The *kinnaras* also protect them. The *mahoragas* also protect them. The Four Great Kings, Śakra the Lord of the *devas*, Brahmā Sahāṃpati and the *devaputra* Susīma[7] also protect them. Other very mighty *devaputras* besides these also protect them. *Bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* also protect them. Buddhas and Lords also protect the *bodhisattvas* who preserve this

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6 T.416 (886c6-10) adds the following passage, not found elsewhere:

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, if those young men or women have obtained this *sūtra*, have thus heard it, thus seen it, thus come to know it, thus accomplished it, it is not possible that they should fail to encounter a Buddha, or abuse the True Dharma, or destroy the community of *bhikṣus*, or reject Buddha-*bodhi*. You should know, Bhadrapāla, that those young men and women who hold to the *sūtra* cannot be impeded by any of the above things, except for the irreversible misfortune due to past acts.

7 There is no mention of any *lha'i bu mtshams bzang* (= *devaputra* Susīma) in either of the Chinese versions of this passage. For the Sanskrit text of this section, see Appendix B.

samādhi.'

[14F] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* become beloved of the *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras* and *mahoragas*, of Śakra, of the Brahmās, of the Great Kings, of *bodhisattvas*, and of Buddhas and Lords.'

[14G] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the *devas* also sing the praises of those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas*. The *nāgas* also sing their praises. The *yakṣas* also sing their praises. Human beings also sing their praises. The *amanuṣyas* also sing their praises. The *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, and *mahoragas* also sing their praises. Śakra, Brahmā and the Great Kings also sing their praises. *Bodhisattvas* and Buddhas and Lords also sing the praises of those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas*.'

[14H] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the *devas* also wish to see those *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*. The *nāgas* also wish to see them. The *yakṣas* also wish to see them. The *gandharvas* also wish to see them. The *kinnaras* also wish to see them. Human beings also wish to see them. The *amanuṣyas* also wish to see them. The *asuras*, *garuḍas*, and *mahoragas* also wish to see them. The *bodhisattvas* and the Buddhas and Lords as well show their countenances and declare their names to those *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*, even if it is only in a dream.'

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattvas* also wish to see those *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*. The Buddhas and Lords also desire to behold them.'

'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, the *devas* also come to see the *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*. The *nāgas* also come to see them. The *yakṣas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, and human beings also come to see them. Śakra the Lord of the *devas*, Brahmā Sahāṃpati and the *devaputra* Susīma also come to see them.'

[14I] 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, for those *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*, *sūtras* which have not [previously] been expounded to or heard by them will be spoken and their uttering heard, even if it is only in their dreams.'

'Bhadrapāla, I could go on for a *kalpa* or more than a *kalpa* singing the

praises and proclaiming the virtues of the *bodhisattvas* who preserve this *samādhi*, or who take up, master, keep, read, copy, or expound this *samādhi*, to say nothing of those who realise it'[8]

[14J] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[9]

[1] 'To describe the good qualities
Of those *bodhisattvas* who expound
This *samādhi* spoken by the *Sugata*
Would be like taking one [grain of sand] from all the sands
of the Ganges.

[2] As for those who expound this *samādhi*,
Fire and weapons do not harm them,
Robbers do not injure them,
Kings show them no unkindness.

[3] If venomous snakes, enraged and terrible,
Beset people with evil intent,
They become venomless through the power
Of those who embark upon this *samādhi*.

[4] Human beings, *nāgas*, *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*,
Enemies enraged and terrible,
Cannot ever endure the power
Of those who embark upon this *samādhi*.

[5] Whatever fierce wild beasts of the forest there are--
Wolves, jackals, and likewise lions and tigers--
They also become the companions and servants

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8 For the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of 14H and 14I, see Appendix B.

9 The Sanskrit fragment of the *PraS* preserves 15 of the following 16 verses, while both Chinese versions have all 16, in the same order as the Tibetan. See Appendix B for translations of all these. It will be noted that the Tibetan text is not by any means an exact rendition of the Sanskrit as we have it.

Of those who live in a forest retreat.

[6] If *yakṣas* and *piśācas*, terrible snatchers of vital force,
Beset people with evil intent,
They become downcast because of the power
Of those who embark upon this *samādhi.*

[7] Those who expound this *samādhi*
Are free of any malady of the ear or malady of the body;
Their organ of sight is never impaired;
Their words are lucid, and they speak with
inspired eloquence (Skt. *pratibhāna*).

[8] For those who embark upon this *samādhi*
There is never hell or evil destiny;
Disease does not afflict their bodies;
For them there is never fear of perdition.

[9] If, having recited it [by heart], they teach it to others,
Devas, *nāgas*, *kumbhāṇḍas*,
Asuras and *mahoragas* protect them;
Even those of evil intent become gracious towards them.

[10] If, having recited it, they teach it to others,
Devas, human beings, *nāgas*, *asuras*,
Yakṣas and *kinnaras* sing their praises greatly;
The Buddhas also extol them as if they were an only son.

[11] If, having recited it, they teach it to others,
Doubt as to the dharmas does not occur to them;
Doubt as to awakening does not occur to them;
And no-one appears who is their equal in beauty.

[12] To those who recite this *samādhi*
Harm and hunger do not come,
Even when kings are in turmoil

and beings are similarly in turmoil,
And famine and desolation have come to pass.

[13] As for those who recite this *samādhi*,
Even when Māra stands over beings,
They fear not, nor does the hair of their bodies stand on end;
Their good qualities are inconceivable.

[14] As many torments, calamities and afflictions
As have been described by me,
They cannot injure their persons,
Unless it be because of the fruition of former action.

[15] Those into whose hands these great *sūtras* pass
At the time of the final destruction,
Given pride of place as [my] eldest sons,
They are lauded and extolled, and their praises are sung.

[16] With vigilance apply yourselves vigorously,
And practise the Dharma amicably together [?].
Those of you who preserve, read and teach it,
These things have been expounded for your benefit.'

Chapter Fourteen,
'In Praise of the Preachers of Dharma',
of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

[T.418: Chapter Nine, The Buddha *Kṣemarāja;
T.416: Chapter Nine, Beneficence]

[15A] BAMPO FIVE

Once again the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, I remember that in the past, in an age and a time incalculable, vast, immeasurable, inconceivable and infinite *kalpas* ago, there appeared in the world a *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One named *Kṣemarāja,[1] One Accomplished in Knowledge and Conduct, a *Sugata*, a Knower of the World, a Leader of All Men Capable of Conversion, a Supreme One, a Teacher of *Devas* and Humankind, a Buddha and Lord.'

[15B] 'Bhadrapāla, at that time there was a merchant's son named Sudatta,[2] who, accompanied and followed by twenty thousand beings, went to the place where the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Kṣemarāja was; and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the feet of the Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Kṣemarāja and circumambulated him three times, he sat down to one side. And having sat down to one side, the merchant's son Sudatta questioned the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Kṣemarāja about this *samādhi*.'

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1 Tib. Bde ba'i rgyal po; T.416 無畏王; T.418 屍羅耶. As usual Tib. and T.416 translate the name, while T.418 transliterates it and thus provides us with the means of reconstructing it. The name consists of two elements, and there can be no doubt that *-rāja* is the second (for 羅耶 = *rāja*, see also n. 15.7). When we refer to the *TSD*, we find that the most common Sanskrit equivalent for *bde ba* is *sukha*, but that another equivalent, *kṣema*, is much nearer *chan* in pronunciation, especially in its Prākṛt form *khema*. If Kṣemarāja was the original form, then it would appear that Jñānagupta understood *kṣema* as 'safe', 'secure' (so 無畏, literally 'fearless') rather than as 'happy'. To my knowledge *sukha* cannot be interpreted in this way. Interestingly, the name of the translator of T.418, Loujiachan 婁迦讖, has been reconstructed either as Loka**kṣema** or Loka**rakṣa**. The fact that 屍 and 讖 are homophones, while 屍 here is almost certainly *kṣema*, would tend to support the former reconstruction.

2 Tib. Bzang sbyin; T.416 須達多; T.418 須達. There can be little doubt about the reconstruction of this name as Sudatta.

[15C] 'Thereupon, Bhadrapāla, that *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Kṣemarāja, knowing the resolve of the merchant's son Sudatta, also taught and expounded this *samādhi* in full.'

'Then, Bhadrapāla, on hearing this *samādhi*, the merchant's son Sudatta retained it. Having retained it he cultivated it. Having cultivated it he shaved off his hair and beard, donned dyed robes, went forth from the household life into the homeless state, and pursued the holy life under that Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Kṣemarāja. For 80,000 years he continued to cultivate this *samādhi*. Having retained everything he heard from that Lord, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Kṣemarāja, and having also retained everything he heard from [subsequent?] past *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones,[3] he became possessed of inconceivably great learning.'

[15D] 'At a later time he passed on, his body perished and he died, and he was reborn to the same lot as the *devas* of the Thirty-three in a heavenly world, which is an auspicious state. And having been reborn [again?], in that very world-system he encountered a second *Tathāgata* called *Vidyuddeva.[4] In that same *kalpa* he was born into a great *kṣatriya* family, and having gone forth from that great *kṣatriya* family he went forth under that *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Vidyuddeva, and for 80,000 years[5] he cultivated this

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3 I.e. those *Tathāgatas* who appeared in the world **after** *Kṣemarāja, according to T.416 (887c17). Are these perhaps to be equated with the second and third *Tathāgatas* whom Sudatta is said to encounter in 15D-E?

4 Tib. Glog gi lha; T.416 電德; T.418 術闍波提. Two elements are involved. The first is a word for 'lightning'; *vidyut* is the most common, and may have been pronounced by Lokakṣema in its Prākṛt form *vijju*. The combination 術闍 indeed appears in the translations of An Shigao as a transcription of Skt. *vidyā* (Pāli *vijjā*), confirming some form of *vidyut* here (see Coblin 1981: No. 27). As to the second element, there is little doubt that it is *-deva* (Tib. *lha*). Jñānagupta is notably promiscuous in his use of 德 to translate all and everything, and in copying a careless scribe might have inverted the characters 提波, a standard Chinese transliteration of *deva*. However, only a complete study of Lokakṣema's transliterations will enable us to restore this and other names found in the *PraS* with any certainty.

5 T.416 (887c23): '84,000 years'.

samādhi and lived the holy life.'[6]

[15E] 'He encountered a third *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One called *Raśmirāja.[7] In that same *kalpa* he was born into a great brahman family, and having gone forth from that great brahman family he went forth under that *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One *Raśmirāja, and for 84,000 years he cultivated this *samādhi* and lived the holy life.[8] And eight *kalpas* later that merchant's son Sudatta became fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening.'

[15F] 'Bhadrapāla, if you entertain any doubt, uncertainty or disbelief with regard to the identity of the merchant's son named Sudatta who appeared in that time and in that age, then, Bhadrapāla, you should not take that view. Why is that? Because the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Dīpaṃkara was in that time, in that age the merchant's son named Sudatta.'[9]

'See, Bhadrapāla, how that merchant's son Sudatta strove for the Dharma, desired the Dharma, and was zealous for the Dharma, and for that reason quickly became fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening! See, Bhadrapāla, how very beneficial this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present is for *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* to

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6 The Tib. translation appears to be faulty. Both Chinese versions make it clear that the *Tathāgata* *Vidyuddeva is the one who 'goes forth' from the *kṣatriya* family (see especially T.416, 887c20-24). If this is so, perhaps the Tib. is to be emended to read: 'And having been reborn, in that very world-system he [Sudatta] encountered a second *Tathāgata* called *Vidyuddeva, who in that very *kalpa* had been born into a great *kṣatriya* family and had gone forth from that great *kṣatriya* family. He [Sudatta] went forth under that *Tathāgata*...'

7 Tib. 'Od zer gyi rgyal po; T.416 光王; T.418 賴毘羅耶. 羅耶 = *rāja* (*rgyal po*, 王), so the problem lies only with the first element. According to *TSD*, '*od zer* usually stands for *raśmi*, and indeed the name 'Od zer rgyal po (= Raśmirāja) is given (cited from the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*, No. 519; see Weller 1928: 62-63). Could T.418's 賴毘(*laipi*) conceivably stand for *raśmi* (perhaps in its Prākṛt form *rassi*)? Yes, according to Coblin (1981: see Nos. 250 & 280).

8 As in 15D, the Tib. translation is at odds with the Chinese versions, who have the *Tathāgata* *Raśmirāja being born in, and going forth from, the great brahman family. Cf. n. 15.6.

9 A common formula of identification of characters appearing in such *jātakas* and *avadānas*; see e.g. Lamotte 1962: 385, n.28.

engender Buddha-cognition and become those whose learning is as broad as the ocean!'

[15G] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, you should take up, master, copy, preserve, and read this *samādhi*. Having taken it up and mastered it, you should expound, teach, and proclaim it in full to others, and you should exert yourself in the endeavour to cultivate it. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because if one practises, cultivates and rehearses this *samādhi* repeatedly, one obtains Buddha-cognition, one obtains *Tathāgata*-cognition, Self-existent cognition, omniscient cognition, inconceivable cognition, cognition which equals the unequalled, supreme cognition and unexcelled cognition--one obtains no other dharma but that.'

[15H] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak truthfully say of something: "It is an organ of vision. It produces *bodhisattvas*. It produces the Buddha-dharmas," it is of this *samādhi*, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking truthfully.'[10]

'Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak truthfully say of something: "It is the lineage of the Buddhas (Skt. *buddha-vaṃśa*). It is the lineage of the Dharma. It is the lineage of the Saṅgha. It is the level of a Buddha (Skt. *buddha-bhūmi*). It is the lineage of learning. It is the ocean of learning. It is an accumulation of learning. It is the basis of learning. It is an accumulation of good qualities. It is the producer of patient acceptance. It is the producer of friendliness. It is the acquisition of compassion. It is the dharma which produces awakening," it is of this *samādhi*, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking truthfully.'

[15I] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak truthfully say of something: "It is a dharma which dispels the darkness of the world with its *devas*, human beings and *asuras*. It is a dharma which emits a great light," it is of this *samādhi*, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking truthfully.'

'Further, Bhadrapāla, when those who speak truthfully say of something: "It is the dharma which produces the ten powers of a *Tathāgata*, the four assurances of a *Tathāgata*, the four special knowledges (Skt. *pratisaṃvid*) and the eighteen dharmas exclusive to a Buddha," it is of this *samādhi*, Bhadrapāla, that they are speaking truthfully.'

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10 For this construction cf. 8F. I have rendered it only approximately in English.

'See, Bhadrapāla, how great this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present is, which thus enables *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas*, while seated right here, to see the Buddhas of other world-systems, to hear the Dharma, and to see the Saṅgha also!'

[15J] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who wish to perfect this precious *samādhi* should consolidate the practice of the four applications of mindfulness (Skt. *smṛtyupasthāna*). Bhadrapāla, how should *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* consolidate the practice of the four applications of mindfulness? In this regard, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* should observe the body in the body, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with the body. They should observe feelings in feelings, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with feelings. They should observe thought in thought, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with thought. They should observe dharmas in dharmas, but should not think any discursive thoughts connected with dharmas.'[11]

[15K] 'Bhadrapāla, who will have faith in this *samādhi*, apart from *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* incapable of regression, and *śrāvakas* who are direct witnesses (Skt. *kāya-sākṣin*)?[12] Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because all foolish common people are in error as regards this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because, although one should concentrate on those very dharmas, and should see those very dharmas, and should concentrate on

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11 T.418 preserves a fuller form of the formula for the four *smṛty-upasthāna*: 'What are the four Stations (止) of Mindfulness? The first is that one observes one's own body and observes the bodies of others, but although one observes one's own body and observes the bodies of others, there is originally no body...(and similarly for feelings, thought, and dharmas).'

Cf. the formula as it is found in the *Śsp*, fasc. XV, p. 1427 (I have corrected several inconsistencies in the text): *iha...bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'dhyātmakāye kāyānudarśī viharati / na ca kāyasahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati...bahirdhā kāye kāyānudarśī viharati / na ca kāyasahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati...* (see also Conze 1975: 153; and the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, i.e. M, No. 10).

12 T.418 (914a11) simply: '*arhats*'; T.416 (888b10): 'those *arhats* in whom the noxious influences are exhausted.'

the Buddhas and Lords, and should see the *Tathāgatas*, and should hear the Dharma, one should not fixate on them.'

[15L] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? All these dharmas are essentially empty, essentially pure, and calmed from the very beginning. Bhadrapāla, all these dharmas, being subject to objectification, are [themselves] beyond objectification [?]. All these dharmas are isolated through the very act of concentration. All these dharmas are ungraspable because essentially they cannot be objectified. All these dharmas are unattached because they are similar to space. All these dharmas are utterly pure because they are devoid of apperceptions of 'self' or of 'sentient being'. All these dharmas are undefiled because they have appeared on account of causes. All these dharmas are incalculable because neither a life nor a person is apprehended objectively. All these dharmas are equal to Nirvāṇa through being essentially luminous. All these dharmas are near at hand because no existing thing is apprehended objectively.'

[15M] 'Bhadrapāla, if any sons or daughters of good family wish to cultivate this *samādhi*, they should enter the gate of signlessness (Skt. *animitta-mukha*) through the entry[-point provided] by various signs, in such a way that they see the Buddhas and Lords and cultivate the awakening-factor of mindfulness (Skt. *smṛti-saṃbodhyaṅga*) connected with the calling to mind of the Buddha, and that they hear the Dharma and cultivate the awakening-factor of discrimination of Dharma (Skt. *dharma-pravicaya-saṃbodhyaṅga*) with regard to the Dharma, without either objectifying a self or becoming arrogant with the Dharma.'[13]

[15N] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because those who have an apperception of existing things will not see the Buddha. Those who have an apperception of dharmas will not see dharmas. Those who hope for recompense will not become perfect in liberality. Those who are [over-] fond of [meditational] self-cultivation will not become pure in morality. Those who are miserly with the Dharma will not become greatly learned. Those who adhere to [the notion of] a 'person' will not attain Parinirvāṇa. Those who delight in worthless chatter will not see solitude. Those who take pleasure in dwellings will not obtain the fruit.

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13 On the seven *(saṃ)bodhyaṅga*, 'factors of awakening', see Dayal 1932: 149-155.

Those who have attachments will not see [their own] faults. Those who delight in malice will not attain to patient acceptance and gentleness. Those who harbour hatred and enmity will see no blessings. Sons or daughters of good family who are followers of the Śrāvakayāna will not realise this *bodhisattvas*' *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, on account of which one obtains patient acceptance. In *bodhisattvas* miserliness does not arise. Those given to objectification will not cultivate emptiness. Those who are lazy will not obtain intuitive comprehension (Skt. *abhisamaya*). Those who adhere to desire will not attain to quietude (Skt. *śamatha*). Those who are attached will not realise self-cultivation.'

[15O] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, in order that this *samādhi* does not disappear, I entrust it to the world with its *devas*.'

'As [I,] the Lord expounded this discourse on Dharma, eighteen *nayutas* of *devaputras* of the Realm of Desire and the Realm of Form conceived the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening. And eight thousand beings, comprising *devas*, human beings and *asuras*, also conceived the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening.'

'They who have [simply] conceived the initial aspiration to supreme awakening, after becoming liberated in thought under *Tathāgatas* as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges, shall all become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening under different names[14] but with the one life-span. So it goes without saying, Bhadrapāla, that those who encountered me when formerly I was pursuing the *bodhisattva*-course, or those who befriended me when formerly I was pursuing the *bodhisattva*-course, shall quickly become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening.'

'Bhadrapāla, during the exposition of this dharma innumerable beings have also engendered cognition and vision; and eight hundred *bhikṣus* have had their minds freed from the noxious influences, without further clinging.'

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[14] Not so T.416 (888c16): 'Then, in the future, after *kalpas* exceeding the sands of the Ganges, they shall all completely attain *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*; they shall all **share the one name**, being called the Tathāgata Arhat Samyaksaṃbuddha *Suvimukta (正解脱)...' It is difficult to determine from T.416 or from the Tibetan whether all of this section is actually spoken by the Buddha or not; unfortunately, T.418 lacks 15O.

[15P] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[15]

[1] 'As for those who will preserve this *samādhi*,
They will have utterly immeasurable wisdom;
They will have spotless and immaculate morality;
Their morality will be pure, and their minds pure as well.

[2] As for those who will preserve this *samādhi*,
Their wisdom will never be deficient;
Having heard the *samādhi* they will never lose it;
They will display all good qualities like the moon.

[3] As for those who will preserve this *samādhi*,
They will extol inconceivable Buddhas;
They will also see inconceivable Dharmas;
Inconceivable *devas* will protect them.

[4] Inconceivable former Buddhas have appeared
Expounding inconceivable Dharmas;
Those who will preserve this *samādhi*
Have seen them and worshipped them all.

[5] As for those who will preserve this *samādhi*,
They have revered those *Jinas*
Who, as saviours from all suffering,
Have appeared and exist [now] for the sake of the world.

[6] Those *bodhisattvas* who wish to see
The many inconceivable Buddhas of the future,
In order to worship them with faithful hearts--
Let them preserve this most excellent *samādhi*.

[7] As for those who will preserve this *samādhi*,
Those people will have an inconceivable gain;

15 The following eight *gāthās* appear in the same order in both T.418 and T.416 (see Concordance). There are, as usual, certain variations in content.

They will be welcome in the human realm,
And will have performed the going-forth well, and eaten their
alms-food well.

[8] They into whose hands
This most excellent *samādhi* passes in the last age,
Will well and truly gain the finest possession,
And will also receive inconceivable dharmas.'

Chapter Fifteen of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

[T.418: Chapter Ten, Invitation to the Buddha;
T.416: Chapter Ten: Fulfilment of the Five Dharmas]

[16A] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, having risen from his seat and arranged his upper garment on one shoulder, put his right knee to the ground, extended his joined palms towards the Lord, and said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, will you, out of compassion, accept my invitation to come to dinner tomorrow along with the community of *bhikṣus*?'

Out of compassion the Lord showed his acceptance to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla by remaining silent.

[16B] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, knowing that by remaining silent the Lord had accepted, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet, circumambulated him three times, and left the Lord's presence; he went to where the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the feet of the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī he sat down to one side. And having sat down to one side, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī:

'Noble lady, will you, out of compassion, accept my invitation to come to dinner tomorrow along with the community of *bhikṣuṇīs*?'

Out of compassion the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī showed her acceptance to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla by remaining silent.

[16C] Thereupon the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, knowing that by remaining silent the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī had accepted, prostrated himself at the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's feet, circumambulated her three times, and went away. And having gone away he went to where the Licchavi youth Ratnākara was, and on his arrival said to the Licchavi youth Ratnākara:

'Kinsman, as many *upāsakas* from here in Rājagṛha or from other regions as have assembled here in Rājagṛha, in the Bamboo Wood, in the Haunt of the Kalandakas, together with their retinues, please invite them all in my name to

come to dinner at noon tomorrow.'

Then the Licchavi youth Ratnākara said to all those *upāsakas* who had assembled in that congregation:

'The *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla has invited you to come to dinner tomorrow, along with your retinues.'

[16D]Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant's son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the householder Varuṇadeva, the householder Indradatta,[1] and other householders as well, after rising from their respective seats, prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet, circumambulated the Lord three times, and prostrated themselves also at the feet of the community of *bhikṣus*. Leaving the Bamboo Wood they made their way to the great city of Rājagṛha, to the house of Bhadrapāla,[2] and on their arrival there they prepared that very evening many pleasing beverages, comestibles, savouries and delicacies; they prepared and made ready food of a hundred flavours for all of those people, and even for beggars as well. Why is that? Because *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* are established in magnanimity and the absence of disdain, and have attained to equanimity with regard to all beings.

[16E]Thereupon Śakra the Lord of the *devas*, Brahmā Sahāṃpati, the *devaputra* Susīma and the Four Great Kings,[3] conjuring up many human beings, exerted themselves in one incarnate guise or another in order to foster and bring to maturity the awakening of those householders.

Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, and the other householders too, each with his own relatives, went throughout the great city of Rājagṛha doing any cleaning that had to be done, draping it with silken streamers, perfuming it with censers of incense, and strewing it with loose flowers.

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1 T.418 (914c9-11) mentions all eight *bodhisattvas*, including Susīma; while T.416 has only the first five of the Tibetan list. Susīma is similarly omitted in the Tib. at 16H and 16I.

2 Most of what follows here appears in T.418 after Section 16E, at 914c18.

3 T.416 (889b9-10): 'the Four Great *Deva*-kings, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the others...' This is not found elsewhere.

[16F]Then, after the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla and his relatives had both decorated the great city of Rājagṛha and prepared a meal of a hundred flavours, once the night had passed he made his way, accompanied and followed by his relatives, to where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated the Lord three times, he informed him that it was noon, saying:

'Reverend Lord, the time for the meal has come. Reverend Lord, the meal-hour has come. The meal has been prepared, and I wish you to know that the time for it has now come.'

Thereupon in the forenoon the Lord put on his robe and undergarment, took up his bowl, and accompanied and followed by the community of *bhikṣus*, the community of *bhikṣuṇīs*, and the assemblies of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, he made his way to the house of the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla.

[16G]Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla thought:

'It would be good if the Lord could perform such a working of magic that, by his performing that working of magic, my house would become extensive, large, and like blue beryl,[4] so that all the people of the town could see in and so that these numerous assemblies could also be seated comfortably.'

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4 I.e. transparent. The Chinese versions of this passage (see Concordance) are more explicit than the Tibetan. A similar reference to a transparent building made out of beryl occurs in the *Mv* (i, p. 32), where Sudharmā, the assembly hall of Sudarśana, the city of the *devas* of the Thirty-three, is described as *sarvavaiḍūryamayī*. There the text appears to be saying that Śakra and the *devas* can be seen from outside in conclave, and that they themselves can also look out over the whole of Sudarśana:

> *yatra devā trāyastriṃśāḥ śakro ca devānām indro sanniṣaṇā sannipatitā devakaraṇīyeṣu vāhyato devasabhāyāṃ dṛśyanti devā pi trāyastriṃśā sudharmāye devasabhāye niṣaṇāḥ sarvaṃ sudarśanaṃ devanagaraṃ paśyanti.* (See also Jones' translation, Vol. I, p. 27)

Stories of magical transformations of the kind we have here in the *PraS* were obviously popular narrative elements in Mahāyāna *sūtras*; see e.g. the *Chengju guangming dingyi jing* 成具光明定意經 (attributed to Zhi Yao 支曜, a near-contemporary of Lokakṣema, who himself is also supposed to have made a translation of this text), in which the lay *bodhisattva* Shanming 善明 (= Suprabha?) invites the Buddha and his followers to dinner, fears that his house is too small to accommodate them, and then has it miraculously enlarged and transformed so that everyone can dine in comfort (T.630, 452a11-b23).

Thereupon the Lord, knowing in his mind the drift of that *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva*'s thought, performed such a working of magic that, by his performing that working of magic, the house of the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla became extensive, large, and like blue beryl, so that all the people of the town could see in and all those assemblies could be seated comfortably.

[16H]Thereupon the Lord entered the house of the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla. And having entered he seated himself on the seat prepared, together with the the communities of *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* and the assemblies of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*.

Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant's son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the householder Indradatta and the householder Varuṇadeva, perceiving that the Lord had seated himself, and perceiving that the community of *bhikṣus*, the community of *bhikṣuṇīs*, and the assemblies of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* had also seated themselves, with their own hands fed and regaled the community of *bhikṣus*, the community of *bhikṣuṇīs*, and the assemblies of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, beginning with the Buddha, using the many pleasing beverages, comestibles, savouries, and foods of a hundred flavours.

After they had with their own hands fed and regaled them with many pleasing comestibles, beverages, savouries, and foods of a hundred flavours, perceiving that the Lord had finished his meal, washed his hand and cleaned his bowl,[5] they fetched suitable seats and sat down in front of the Lord, in the Lord's presence.

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5 For *'chab pa* (perfect: *bcabs*), usually 'to conceal', meaning 'to wash' (honor.), see Simon 1974: 94, n. 36. For *gyu ba* meaning 'to wash' see *TMCM*, s.v., but this is a little puzzling. What underlies the Tibetan here must be a stock Sanskrit phrase related to the Pāli *onīta-patta-pāṇi* (see *PTSD*, s.v. *onīta*). Such a phrase is indeed found several times in the *Mv*, e.g. at i, 325.13: *atha khalu kṛkī kāśirājā bhagavantaṃ kāśyapaṃ bhuktāviṃ dhautapāṇiṃ apanītapātraṃ viditvā*; at iii, 142.4: *atha khalu bhagavāṃ bhuktāvī dhautahasto apanītapātro...*; and at iii, 257.10: *bhagavāṃ... bhuktadhautapāṇir apanītapātro.* Here the meaning is that the Lord has eaten, washed his hand, and put away his bowl, and no doubt our text--*bcom ldan 'das bshos gsol / phyag bcabs / lhung bzed gyu bar*--ought to signify something similar. The discovery of some parallel passages in Sanskrit (with Tibetan translations) should resolve the difficulty.

[16I]Thereupon with a discourse on Dharma the Lord delighted, inspired, exalted and enraptured the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant's son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta, the householder Indradatta, and the householder Varuṇadeva, and those four assemblies. And after he had delighted, inspired, exalted and enraptured them with a discourse on Dharma he rose, and in the company of the community of *bhikṣus* made his way back.

[16J] Thereupon, after finishing the meal, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, together with his own friends, relatives and kinsmen, and accompanied and followed by a full 100,000 beings, made his way to where the Lord was, and having on his arrival prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and circumambulated him three times, he sat down to one side.

The *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Ratnākara, Mahāsusārthavāha, Guhagupta, Naladatta, Susīma, Indradatta, and the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Varuṇadeva, having prostrated themselves at the Lord's feet together, and having circumambulated him three times, sat down to one side.

[16K] Then the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, perceiving that all the assemblies were seated, said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how many dharmas must *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* possess in order to obtain this *bodhisattvas*' *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, to listen to it and hear it, to take it in by virtue of an undistracted mind, to not forget it, and, having taken it in, to obtain it?'

[16L] When this was said, the Lord said to the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla:

'Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* possess five dharmas they obtain this *bodhisattvas*' *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present; they listen to it and hear it, they take it in by virtue of an undistracted mind, they do not forget it, and having taken it in they obtain it.'

'Bhadrapāla, what are the five? If here *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* possess patient acceptance of the profound dharmas (Skt. *gambhīra-dharma-kṣānti*), that is, if they possess patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are indestructible, not liable to destruction, imperishable, utterly imperishable,

unpolluted, beyond pollution, unstained, devoid of stain, untainted, devoid of taint, beyond taint, free of all taint, and unproduced (Skt. *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*)--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this first dharma, then *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.'[6]

[16M] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* disparage all conditioned things, and, except as a base for awakening, do not desire any opportunity for rebirth; if they wish to see the Buddhas and Lords and do not rely on any of the sectarian schools (Skt. *tīrthyāyatana*) or on any of the sectarians' formulas (Skt. *mantra*); if they do not wish for the enjoyment of the objects of desire; if they delight in the holy life and have given up sexual intercourse, being unattached to desire even in their thoughts, to say nothing of physical union--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this second dharma, then *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[16N] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* have cultivated the thoughts of infinitude (Skt. *apramāṇa-citta*), and, having thoroughly composed their minds, have thoughts which are free of ill-will; if they have an equal

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[6] T.416 (889c19-25) divides this first of the five dharmas into five dharmas again, and so for the remaining four (16M, N, O, P), thus arriving at five sets of five dharmas each, which *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* must acquire; for this see T.416.

T.418 presents the first dharma (16L: *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*) as a unit, more or less in agreement with the Tibetan. However, T.418 follows its version of 16L with (915a25-27):

> Further, Bhadrapāla, taking no more pleasure in places of birth, this is the second; taking no more delight in heresy, this is the third; taking no more pleasure in desire, this is the fourth; self-restraint and practising the infinitudes (無有極 = *apramāṇa* ?), this is the fifth.

It will be seen that dharmas two to four here relate to 16M in Tib., while no. 5 relates to 16N. There is no equivalent in T.418 for most of Tib.16N-P.

Note also that the *SZPPSL* (86c13-28) has material corresponding to 16L-U; in its organisation of this it is closer to the Tib. than to T.416, but since no two versions are in full agreement with each other, it would appear that the structure of these sections has been a matter of some confusion right from the outset.

regard for all beings and attract all beings with the four means of conversion (Skt. *saṃgraha-vastu*)--what are the four? The four are giving, kindly speech, benefaction, and empathy--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this third dharma, then *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi.*'

[16O] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* are possessed of great friendliness, and practise great compassion, great sympathetic joy, and great disinterestedness; that is, if they do not accuse *bhikṣus* or *bhikṣuṇīs* who have committed faults, but accept them patiently through being of a tolerant nature; if they are respectful and reverent towards their preceptors and teachers and perceive them as the Teacher;[7] if they are not asserters of 'me' and 'mine, not asserters of 'being', not asserters of 'life', not asserters of 'person', not asserters of 'soul', not asserters of 'man', not asserters of 'human', not asserters of 'human being', and admonish others concerning this dharma--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this fourth dharma, then *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi.*'

[16P] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* put into practice the dharmas which conform to the Dharma; if they are pure in bodily activity, pure in the activity of speech, pure in mental activity, pure in views, pure in livelihood, and greatly learned; if, together with the Buddhas and Lords, they are skilled in allusive utterance (Skt. *saṃdhā-bhāṣa*)--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this fifth dharma, then those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi.*'

'Bhadrapāla, if they possess those five dharmas, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi.*'

[16Q] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* possess five other dharmas, they obtain this *samādhi.* What are the five? Bhadrapāla, if here *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* are great patrons (Skt. *dāna-pati*) and givers, that is, if they are neither mean nor miserly in their thoughts, are abundantly liberal, open-handed, rejoice in giving gifts, give away all their wealth without expecting any recompense, are compassionate towards beings, free of regret, and have no regrets after giving gifts--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this first

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7 The remainder of 16O has no equivalent in any Chinese version.

dharma, then *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* manage at the very least to hear this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.'

[16R] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* are great patrons and givers, that is, if they give the supreme Dharma, if they have established themselves in the giving of the gift of the supreme Dharma spoken by the *Tathāgata*, which is the teaching of the principle of the profound and ultimate truth with its words and syllables well analysed, its words and syllables free of impediment, and its etymology unobscured; if they are accomplished in patient acceptance and accomplished in gentleness; if, even though driven off and abused by others, they do not get angry, nor revile them, nor do them harm, nor become bewildered, nor despair, nor become angry, but remain self-assured--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess this second dharma, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[16S] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, when they hear this *samādhi bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* should, in order to perpetuate and propagate the True Dharma, accept, master, preserve and read it, they should expound it in full to others, copy it in book-form and preserve it,[8] and not be miserly with the Dharma--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess that third dharma, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[16T] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* are free of envy, free of remorse [?], free of sloth and torpor, free of the obscurations, and do not praise themselves or disparage others--if, Bhadrapāla, they possess that fourth dharma, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[16U] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* are endowed with faith, have great faith; if they are respectful and reverent towards elderly people, the middle-aged, and young people; if they are grateful and appreciative, appreciating even the smallest favour, not to mention the more considerable;[9] if they are established in truthful speech, and say nothing false--

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8 Cf. T.418 (915b9): '...copy this *sūtra* on a fine piece of white silk and make it last a long time.'

9 T.418 (915b12-13) follows this with: 'The *bodhisattvas* always have joyful respect for the Dharma (or: the *sūtras*); they discard the meanings that are

if, Bhadrapāla, they possess those five dharmas, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.'

[16V] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[10]

[1] 'Those who generate patient acceptance of the profound dharmas,
Loathe all destinies,
And do not desire any of the six destinies--
Such as they quickly obtain the *samādhi*.

[2] Those who do not adhere to any rival teachers,
And do not listen to their formulae, far less accept them,
And are averse to the five sense-qualities--
Such as they quickly obtain the *samādhi*.

[3] Those who are pure in morality, maintain the holy life,
Never think about women,
Have rejected desire, and become sons of the *Sugata*--
Such as they quickly obtain the *samādhi*.

[4] They give gifts without expecting recompense;
Having given without attachment they are not distressed;
On giving a gift they have not the slightest wish,
Unless it be to experience Buddha-cognition.

[5] On giving a gift out of compassion for beings,
They do not suffer or have regrets;
They are always established in giving, self-control, and restraint--
Such as they will obtain this *samādhi*.[11]

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not repeated, they always keep in mind those that are repeated [?].'

10 T.416 (890b13-c11) agrees with the Tib. in order and number of verses. T.418 (915b15-c9), however, has only 12 *gāthās*, of which the fourth and the tenth (b21-22 and c4-5) bear little relation to anything in Tib.; distinguishing these with the letter 'X', the order of correspondence with verses in Tib. runs: 1, 4, 5, X, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, X, 13, 14. For the verses marked 'X', see n. 16.11 and n. 16.12 below.

11 The last two *pādas* of this verse in T.418 (915b20) are significantly

[6] Those who are great patrons and givers without miserliness
Give the gift which is excellent and pleasing;
On giving it they are also jubilant--
Such as they will obtain this *samādhi.*

[7] Those who are great givers of the Dharma,
And who expound the excellent *sūtras*
Profound and peaceful, spoken by the *Sugata*--
Such as they will obtain this *samādhi.*

[8] Those who have established themselves always in the Dharma,
Who, free of envy, are established in patient acceptance
and gentleness,
And do not get angry if others are angry--
Such as they will obtain this *samādhi.*

[9] They who recite this *samādhi*
And, in order to perpetuate this dharma,
Teach it to others and, having copied it, preserve it--
Such as they will obtain this *samādhi.*

[10] Never miserly with the Dharma,
Not expounding it for any gain or honour,
Unless it is to become sons of the *Sugata*--
Such as they will obtain this dharma.

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different: 'They are always established in giving, morality, patient acceptance, / Energy, trance, and wisdom.' The next verse in T.418 (915b21-22) runs:

Endowed with the six perfections and embracing all [beings?],
Having the four equal [?] thoughts of friendliness, compassion,
sympathetic joy and disinterestedness,
Adaptable in the use of stratagems to deliver beings--
They who act thus obtain the *samādhi.*

This has no equivalent in Tib. or T.416. These two verses in T.418 are significant in a text which makes little mention of the *pāramitās* (listed in full only once in Tib. at 5D) and none at all of *upāya-kauśalya.*

[11] Free of envy, the obscurations eliminated;
Free of sleep, free of remorse (Skt. *saṃtāpa*?);
Not praising themselves or disparaging others--
They easily obtain the apperception of non-self.

[12] Faithful, guileless, and unshakeable,
They believe in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha;
They are grateful and appreciative--
They have not the slightest difficulty in obtaining it.[12]

[13] They always speak words of truth,
And be they small or few or many or good [?],
Their good actions are never exhausted--[13]
For those lovers of Dharma it is not difficult to obtain.

[14] Pure in morality and appreciative,
They who preserve this dharma
Will have no difficulty obtaining awakening,
To say nothing of this peaceful *samādhi*.'

Chapter Sixteen of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

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12 T.418 (915c4-5) has a different verse:
When they have calm concentration, thoughts do not arise;
Then they can understand this *samādhi*-wisdom of the Way;
They have discarded flattery and their minds are pure,
Therefore they quickly attain the patient acceptance of non-origination.

13 Cf. T.416 (890c8): 'Nothing they do is lost; Their deeds, even if slight, secure an extensive reward.'

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

[T.416: Chapter Eleven, Prediction]

[17A] 'Bhadrapāla, I remember through my extraordinary faculties (Skt. *abhijānāmi*) that in time past I obtained this *samādhi* from the *Tathāgata* Dīpaṃkara as soon as I saw him. As soon as I obtained this *samādhi*, in that moment countless and incalculable Buddhas and Lords appeared to my sight, I heard the True Dharma they expounded and retained it all just as I had heard it. Those Buddhas and Lords also predicted to me:

"Young brahman, at a future time you shall become a *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One by the name of Śākyamuni, One Accomplished in Knowledge and Conduct, a *Sugata*, a Knower of the World, a Leader of All Men Capable of Conversion, a Supreme One, a Teacher of *Devas* and Humankind, a Buddha and Lord!"

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, you should train in this dharma, which is holy, rejected by fools, and devoid of all signs. Then it will not be difficult for you who are established in this *samādhi* to attain supreme and perfect awakening.'

[17B] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[1]

[1] 'After seeing the Buddha Dīpaṃkara,
I cultivated the *samādhi* also;
And after seeing many Buddhas
I heard the highest Dharma too.

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[1] Both Chinese versions contain only the first two verses, of which the second is somewhat different from the Tibetan. E.g. in T.418 (915c21-22) it runs:

Just as virtuous persons go to gather gems,
And quickly obtain that which they hope for, according to
their wish,
So also *bodhisattvas* and great heroes
Seek gems in the Dharma [or: in the *sūtra(s)*] and obtain
Buddhahood.

T.416 (890c29-891a1) is closer to the Tibetan.

[2] Just as those who act meritoriously
Fulfil their good resolves,
You must also practise the Dharma,
And you shall obtain the highest awakening.

[3] Endless, infinite
And inconceivable were the *koṭis* of Buddhas
Whom I formerly honoured
In the quest for the peace of awakening.

[4] Obtaining that awakening,
I turned the Wheel of Dharma;
Many were the *koṭis* of beings
Whom I established in awakening.

[5] *Devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*,
Gandharvas and *kinnaras*
Worship me with offerings,
Saying: "Oh! How inconceivable the Buddha is!"

[6] Any wise persons who also
Wish to devote themselves to the Buddhadharma
Should strengthen their desire
To become greatly learned.

[7] Thirty *koṭis* strong were the Buddhas
Whom I, Lion of the Śākyas and Supreme Human,
Formerly honoured
In the quest for the peace of awakening.

[8] If those inconceivable Buddhas
Had not made the prediction for me then,
I might not have become established
In the cognition which is beyond objectification.

[9] Thus in brief you should know

The Buddhas, Lords and Protectors,
In their many *nayutas* of *koṭis*,
Whom I formerly honoured.

[10] Even when those *Tathāgatas*, knowing my resolve,
Had made that prediction,
I might not have become established
In inconceivable Buddha-cognition [?].

[11] For that reason you must make
Goodly efforts for the ultimate truth,
And you must also train yourself in the highest cognition
Of inconceivable Buddhas.

[12] Having trained yourself in this *sūtra*,
You will comprehend the inconceivable,
Highest and supreme cognition
In the sphere of activity of a Lord of the World.

[13] With the thought: "Oh! How inconceivable
Is the supreme cognition, the cognition of a Buddha!"
Rejoice in your heart, Bhadrapāla,
And become reverent.

[14] With the thought: "At a future time we also
Shall be the last bearers of the Dharma!"
May those five hundred as well
Rejoice in their hearts and become reverent.'

Chapter Seventeen of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

[T.416: Chapter Twelve, The Profound]

[18A] BAMPO SIX

When this was said, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla said to the Lord:

'Reverend Lord, how should *bodhisattvas* cultivate this *samādhi*?'

The Lord said:

'Bhadrapāla, if any sons or daughters of good family should wish to cultivate this *samādhi*, they should not rest in form, they should not rest in feelings, in thought, or in dharmas; they should not rest in rebirth; they should not rest in any dharmas; they should not rest in emptiness, signlessness, or wishlessness; they should not rest in friendliness. What then, Bhadrapāla, is *samādhi*? It is the application of these dharmas in practice (Skt. *pratipatti*), and not the misapplication (Skt. *vipratipatti*).'[1]

[18B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who continue to observe the body in the body, but do not think any discursive thoughts (Skt. *vitarka*) connected with the body, and who with regard to the feelings, to thought, and to dharmas continue to observe [feelings, thought and] dharmas, but do not think any discursive thoughts connected with [feelings, thought and] dharmas--those *bodhisattvas* obtain this *samādhi*.[2] Why is that, Bhadrapāla? It is because if *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* continue to observe the body in the body, and yet do not think any discursive thoughts connected with the body, and if, with regard to the feelings, to thought, and to dharmas they continue to observe [feelings, thought and] dharmas, but do not think any discursive thoughts connected with [feelings, thought and] dharmas, then they do not objectify any

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1 Cf. T.416 (891a2-10) where, instead of form, feelings, thought, and dharmas, we read that *bodhisattvas* should in turn contemplate, but not become attached to, form, sound, smell, taste, touch, dharmas, births, and all places (?), and that 'with respect to these dharmas they should foster the practice of truly great friendliness.' Cf. also T.418, which is very brief.

2 For the *smṛtyupasthānas*, see 15J and n. 15.11. 18B is not found in T.418.

dharmas. Because they do not objectify any dharmas they do not conceptualise or think discursively. Bhadrapāla, those who do not conceptualise or think discursively do not see any dharmas whatsoever. Bhadrapāla, where one does not see any dharmas whatsoever, that is known as unobscured cognition. Bhadrapāla, it is precisely unobscured cognition which is, Bhadrapāla, known as *samādhi*.'

'Bhadrapāla, the *bodhisattvas* who possess this *samādhi* see immeasurable and incalculable Buddhas, and they also hear the True Dharma. On hearing it they master it. They also obtain the unobscured cognition and vision of liberation and the unimpeded cognition of those *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones.'

[18C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* continue to observe the body in the body, and in doing so do not see any dharmas whatsoever. Not seeing them they do not conceptualise or think discursively [about them], even though they are neither blind nor deaf. Similarly with regard to the feelings, to thought, and to dharmas they continue to observe [feelings, thought and] dharmas, and in doing so do not see any dharmas whatsoever. Not seeing them they do not rely [upon them]; not relying [upon them] they cultivate the path; by virtue of having cultivated the path they have no doubts with regard to dharmas; and by being without doubts they see the Buddhas. And in seeing the Buddhas, by virtue of the fact that all dharmas are unproduced, liberation occurs.'

[18D] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? If *bodhisattvas* should adopt the apperception of dharmas, that itself would be for them the false view of an object of apprehension (Skt. *upalambha-dṛṣṭi*). That itself would be the false view of existence, the false view of a self, the false view of a being, the false view of a life, and the false view of a person. That itself would be the false view of aggregates, the false view of elements, the false view of sense-fields, the false view of signs, the false view of existing things, the false view of causes, the false view of conditions, and the seizing of an object of apprehension.'

[18E] 'Why is that, Bhadrapāla? Because *bodhisattvas* see all dharmas as being essentially empty, all dharmas as being signless, ungrasped, and ungraspable, that is, they do not objectify any dharmas, do not misconceive them, and do not see them. How is it, Bhadrapāla, that they do not objectify

them, nor misconceive them, nor see them? Just as, for example, another sectarian or a disciple of another sectarian who rests in the apperception of a self, who rests in the apperception of a being, of a life, and of a person, and who rests in the apperception of all dharmas might objectify, misconceive and see dharmas, that is the way, Bhadrapāla, in which *bodhisattvas* do **not** see them.'

[18F] 'How then, Bhadrapāla, do *bodhisattvas* see? Bhadrapāla, just as, for example, *Tathāgatas*, *bodhisattvas* incapable of regression, *pratyekabuddhas*, and *arhat śrāvakas* see all dharmas, in that way, Bhadrapāla, should *bodhisattvas* regard all dharmas. Seeing them they should find no joy in them. It is the *bodhisattvas* who, being beyond joy, do not become joyful, are devoid of delight and have suppressed delight who cultivate this *samādhi*.'

'Bhadrapāla, just as space, for example, is immaterial, incommunicable, unlocalised, utterly pure and undefiled, so *bodhisattvas* regard all dharmas, and with regard to conditioned and unconditioned dharmas their vision becomes unimpeded.'

[18G] 'To those *bodhisattvas* whose vision is unimpeded dharmas become immediately manifest, and if they concentrate upon them, they see the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones as like a decorated golden pillar; like the risen sun; like the full moon surrounded by stars; like the Universal Monarch surrounded by hosts of the mighty; like Brahmā, seated on the throne of Brahmā in the Brahma-world; like Śakra, King of the *Devas*, surrounded by the *devas* of the Thirty-three; like fire blazing on a mountain-top; like the King of Physicians dispensing medicine; like the maned lion, king of wild beasts, fearlessly terrifying all the jackals; like the chief of geese in his flight through the heavens; like Sumeru, King of Mountains, rising out of the ocean; like the Himālayas, Kings of Mountains, teeming with flowers and medicinal herbs; like the Cakravāḍa mountains, bearers and supporters of the grandchildren of the wind [?];[3] like the mass of air, bearer of the mass of water;

3 Tib. *rlung gi bu las skyes pa*. The Chinese does not serve to elucidate this apparent reference to Buddhist cosmological notions, although it supports the emendation of the Tibetan text on p. 159, l. 6 (*skyes pas* to *skyes pa*). T.416 (891c2-3): 'Like the Encircling Mountains, upholding the wild winds...'; T.418 (916a21): 'Like the Vajra mountains of the great realm of Heaven and Earth,

like the mass of water, bearer of the mass of land.'

[18H] Then at that time the Lord uttered this verse:

'The beautiful summit of Sumeru,
Spotless, immaculate, and pure,
Similar and like unto space,
Is well adorned by the *devas*.'[4]

[18I] 'Bhadrapāla, in that manner *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* take as the object of their attention those *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones who are brilliant, radiant and shining with glory and splendour in all Trichiliomegachiliocosms, see them and hear the Dharma they expound. Having heard it they accept, master and keep it. And on emerging from this *samādhi* those *bodhisattvas* teach and expound in full to others the Dharma just as they have heard it, just as they have accepted it, and just as they have mastered it.'

[18J] 'In that way, Bhadrapāla, this *samādhi* is of great benefit to *bodhisattvas*. That is to say, it produces many good qualities consisting in both worldly and supramundane dharmas. Therefore, Bhadrapāla, sons or daughters of good family who desire awakening should accept, master, keep, read and copy this *samādhi*; should expound, teach and proclaim it in full to others; and should exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it.'[5]

[18K] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[6]

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warding off filth...' See also 18Kv11. That earth rests upon the water, the water on wind (air), and the wind upon empty space is a common element of Buddhist cosmology (see de La Vallée Poussin, 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist)', in *ERE*, p. 131).

4 This *gāthā* does not appear as such in either Chinese version; T.418 (916a22-23) has a prose version of it, while a prose passage with some similarities occurs in T.416 (891c3-4): 'Like the great wheel of wind, purifying the realm of space; like the beautiful palace of the *devas* on the summit of Sumeru...'

5 18J is not found in T.418.

6 T.416 (891c17-892a11) has twelve verses; T.418 (916a27-b19) has

[1] 'Spotless, stainless, and immaculate are the Buddhas,
Unattached and worshipped by many beings;
The Benefactors are to be honoured with a hundred instruments,
By the beating of drums, and by the sounds of gongs and
celestial instruments.

[2] Having strewn them with loose flowers,
Many beings make offerings to the relic-*stūpas*;
And in the quest for this *samādhi* they deck them out
With various celestial wreaths, perfumes and parasols.

[3] They who, after establishing themselves in conventional truth,
Analyse the Expanded Dharma (Skt. *vaipulya-dharma*),
excellent and difficult to see,
Call to mind the *Jinas*, whose cognition is unattached,
And never fall away from emptiness.

[4] With pure thoughts they call to mind the *Jinas*
As being like the spotless moon, the risen sun,
Or Brahmā enthroned in the Brahma-world;
And they never reject emptiness.

[5] As the King of the *devas* of the Thirty-three
Surpasses the Thirty-three with his appearance,
So the *Jina*, surpassing the world,
Is brilliant, radiant, and shining with glory.

[6] Like fires spreading through the greatest of forests,
Like a lamp burning, like flames leaping,
Like the rising of a thousand suns,

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eleven. Both Chinese versions are quite clearly based upon a single original text, probably an original short version later expanded into what we find in the Tib. Using the Tib. verse numbers, the order for the two translations is:

T.418: 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23;
T.416: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 9, 14, 16, 17, 23.

So behold the *Jinas* as great in marks!

[7] As physicians, curers of illness,
Treat the sickness of sick people,
So the *Jinas*, Lions among Human beings, the Best of Physicians,
Utter the discourses of a *Sugata* as is appropriate.

[8] Uttering the Lion-roar in the assembly,
The Bulls, the Buddhas fear none in the world;
They subdue all the rival teachers,
As the forest-dwelling lion does the jackals.

[9] As the excellent geese-kings
Are white, pure and handsome in their flight through the air,
So the eldest sons of the *Sugata* call to mind
The golden *Sugatas*.

[10] As the kings of mountains, the Himālayas,
Which are brilliant and radiant, and as *kṣatriya* kings,
Or as a pillar adorned with various jewels,
So see the *Jinas* as adorned with marks.

[11] Like the *vajra*, immovable and unbreakable,
Like the Cakravāḍa, supporting the grandchildren of the wind [?],
So the *Sugatas* support the kalpa,
Beneficent, benevolent, and great in Dharma.

[12] As the earth rests upon the waters,
As the waters also rest upon the air,
As the air rests upon empty space,
So the *Jinas* are established in all good qualities.

[13] As in the [Heaven of the] Thirty-three King Sumeru
Looms over everything, shining and radiant,
So the *Sugatas*, like Sumeru,
Are beautiful, seated amidst masses of jewels.

[14] If one calls to mind the *Jinas*, whose thoughts are unattached,
That *samādhi*, which is free of obscurity and darkness,
Spotless and pure, becomes an eye;
It is devoid of all apperceptions of existing things.

[15] Those who call to mind the *Jinas*, whose thoughts are pure,
Are free of stain or spot, and done with anger;
Free of ignorance, their cognition is pure;
For them immaculate cognition shall arise.

[16] Those who call to mind the *Jinas*, whose morality is pure,
Their cognition will be undimmed and pure;
No more for them the false view of me and mine;
Nor will the apperception of an existing thing ever arise.

[17] They are free of the wrong view of a succession of existences;
Free of the way of doubt, pure in cognition;
They never have the apperception of form,
And they listen to the dharma of coolness and the way of peace [?].

[18] Earth, water, fire and air
Are without own-being, all are empty;
When they have heard the teachings of the Best of *Jinas*,
The apperception of an existing thing does not occur to them.

[19] Extirpating all apperceptions of existing things,
And knowing that all destinies are empty,
As a bird is unattached in the sky,
Their minds are never attached.

[20] They who have honoured the Best of *Jinas*
Through being established in the magic powers
and being keen of mind,
Illuminate the worlds everywhere in the ten quarters,
And possess all immeasurable good qualities.

[21] Even though they give up hands, feet, head and likewise eyes,
All their kingdoms, horses and bulls,
And all the precious things of the inhabitants of the world,
They do not give up the constituent of morality (Skt. *śīla-skandha*).

[22] Out of compassion, for the sake of the whole world,
They reveal the excellent jewel of the Dharma;
Even though they renounce all conditioned things, without remnant,
They do not give up the aspiration to awakening.

[23] *Bhikṣus* and the sons of the *Jina* who have set out well,
Likewise *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas*
And *upāsikās* who have faith and are free of attachment--
If they have called to mind [the Buddha?] they obtain this station.

[24] Whoever expound this peaceful *samādhi*,
To those sons of the *Sugata*, skilled in *samādhi*,
Those many good qualities will accrue,
Manifold superior stations will accrue.'

Chapter Eighteen of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

[T.418: Chapter Eleven, Signlessness;
T.416: Chapter Thirteen, Ten Dharmas and
Eight Dharmas in the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi*]

[19A] 'Therefore Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who wish to expound or obtain this *samādhi* should from the very beginning rid themselves of apperceptions of sign. Having rid themselves of apperceptions of sign they should not be proud; when they have eliminated pride and have minds devoid of signs, *bodhisattvas* should receive instruction in this *samādhi*, and they should not be disputatious. How then is one not disputatious? Not rejecting emptiness, this is being not disputatious. Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who put non-disputatiousness first should receive instruction in this *samādhi*.'

[19B] 'Bhadrapāla, should any sons or daughters of good family wish to receive instruction in this *samādhi*, they should possess ten[1] dharmas to be instructed in this *samādhi*. What are the ten? Bhadrapāla, sons or daughters of good family (1) who have conquered pride, (2) who are not envious of others' gain, honour and praise, (3) who are respectful and reverent, (4) who are grateful and appreciative, (5) who are innocent of miserliness and free of regret, (6) who are full of faith and highly discerning [?],[2] (7) who have applied themselves with vigour and taken to walking up and down (Skt. *caṅkrama*),[3] (8) who beg their food without angling for invitations, and (9) who are convinced of the profound should receive instruction in this *samādhi*. (10) Evoking the apperception of Teacher towards those from whom they wish to receive instruction in this *samādhi*, sons or daughters of good family should be instructed in, recite, and

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1 Ten dharmas are listed (and numbered) in both T.416 and T.418 (see Concordance), but there is no exact correspondence between the two versions or between them and the Tibetan.

2 P reads *brtag pa med pa*, perhaps 'free of discursive thought' (*avitarka*, *avikalpa*, etc.); see also T.416 (892b2). However, 19Dv4 confirms *brtag pa mang ba*. Cf. also 6G, and n. 6.5, where the same problem arises.

3 This refers presumably to the practice of walking meditation in the monastery or hermitage ambulatory, cf. 19Dv4.

preserve this *samādhi*. If they possess those ten dharmas, Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family should receive this *samādhi*.'

[19C] 'Those who have so begun receive eight dharmas.[4] What are the eight? They are (1) purity of morality through thorough purification; (2) purity of view through the possession of wisdom; (3) purity of wisdom through not being subject to rebirth; (4) purity of liberality through not aspiring to all transmigration;[5] (5) purity of learning through not forgetting anything; (6) purity of vigour through the winning of awakening; (7) winning of honour through being without support [?]; (8) being unable to be swayed by all beings from supreme and perfect awakening. Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* receive these eight dharmas.'

[19D] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[6]

[1] 'The wise do not evoke the apperception of a sign,
And eliminate pride and egotism;
When they have evoked patient acceptance,
immaculate and unconditioned,
They should receive instruction in this *samādhi* also.

[2] The wise should not take issue with emptiness,
Signlessness, or peace and Nirvāṇa;
Characteristically unshakeable,[7] and in accord with the Teacher,

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4 Both T.416 and T.418 (see Concordance) number the eight dharmas; the lists they give agree substantially in order and content with the Tib.

5 *'Khor* here stands not for 'assembly' or 'retinue', as it usually does, but for *saṃsāra* (generally= *'khor ba*). This is evident from the Chinese translations, since T.418 (916c9) has: 'the fourth is purity of eye [?], and no further desire for birth-and-death', while T.416 (892b12) has: 'the fourth is purity of giving, by not desiring the fruits of all conditioned states.' Whether the Sanskrit originally had *saṃskāra* or *saṃsāra* is difficult to tell from the Chinese, since T.418's 生死, literally 'birth-and-death', renders both these terms; but the Tib. is certainly based on *saṃsāra*. See also *BHSD*, s.v. *anarthika* and *anarthikatā*, for the use of these terms with *saṃsāra*.

6 The same ten verses appear in the same order in both T.416 and T.418.

7 Both Chinese versions: 'not slandering the Dharma'.

Such as they must receive instruction in this *samādhi*.

[3] The wise are not proud or envious;
Appreciative, they have faith in the Buddha,
The Dharma, and the Saṅgha, and are unshakeable;
They must quickly receive instruction in this *samādhi* also.

[4] Those who are miserly, not stupid, not abusive,
Endowed with discernment (?) and having great faith,
And who, having taken to the ambulatory,
apply themselves with vigour;
Should desire this *samādhi*.

[5] *Bhikṣus* should always beg for food,
Rejecting invitations, not to mention hoarding;
Proficient in the ultimate truth which is beyond objectification,
Let such as they receive this *samādhi*.

[6] If they copied this holy *samādhi* from someone,
Or preserved it or taught it to others,
Then towards that one from whom they first obtained it
The wise evoke the apperception of Teacher.

[7] Those in whom these good qualities are brought to perfection,
And who receive instruction in this *samādhi*
Quickly acquire eight dharmas
Which are commended by the *Jinas*, immaculate and pure.

[8] The wise in whom these good qualities appear,
Become pure also in morality;
Pure in *samādhi*, likewise pure in views,
They have purified existence after existence [?].[8]

[9] The wise in whom these good qualities appear,

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8 Cf. T.418 (916c28): 'They regard birth-and-death as empty and pure [?]'; T.416 (892c5): 'They are able to be pure amidst all existences.'

Being not subject to rebirth, are pure in wisdom;
Being without any supports their liberality is pure;
They are greatly learned and do not lose [what they learn].

[10] The wise in whom these good qualities appear
Have applied themselves with vigour
and do not fall away from awakening;
Not relying in the least on gain or honour,
They will attain to supreme awakening.'

Chapter Nineteen of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY

[T.418: Chapter Twelve, The Eighteen Exclusives and the Ten Powers; T.416: Chapter Fourteen, The Exclusive Qualities][1]

[20A] 'Bhadrapāla, if they possess these eight dharmas, *bodhisattvas* acquire the ten powers of a *Tathāgata*.[2] What are the ten? Here, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata*

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1 With this chapter we run into major differences between the Tib. and the Chinese in the organisation of the material of the last seven chapters (20-26). As may be seen from the Concordance and the Comparative Table of Chapters (*Text*, pp. 225-239), in the two Chinese translations (T.418 and T.416) the prose section of Chap. 20 (20A-J) is preceded by the prose section of Chap 22 (22A), and is followed by a single verse summing up the material contained in these two chapters. Chap. 21 is omitted altogether. In specific terms, the Chinese versions detail the 18 dharmas exclusive to a Buddha (*āveṇika-buddha-dharma*), and then the ten powers of a *Tathāgata*, but they make no mention at all of the four assurances (*vaiśāradya*). On the face of it, the inclusion of the four assurances (Chap. 21) appears to have taken place in the course of a substantial re-arrangement of the original form of the text as found in T.418 and T.416.

2 For the ten powers of a *Tathāgata* see especially *Traité* III, pp. 1505-1566; for the full Sanskrit formula I refer the reader to the same, pp. 1506-1508. The wording of the Tibetan--which is never entirely regular from one item to the next--differs somewhat from the formula as given by Lamotte, while that of T.416 is more in accord with it, being very full indeed. T.418, however, gives the barest description of the ten powers, with many attendant obscurities (917a24-b1). In certain cases it is virtually impossible to identify T.418 with the Sanskrit.

The order of the items in each of the three versions is as follows:

	Tib.	T.416	T.418
1.	*sthānāsthāna*	*sthānāsthāna*	*sthānāsthāna*
2.	*karma-vipāka*	*sarvatragāminī-pratipad*	*karma-vipāka* (?)
3.	*sarvatragāminī-pratipad*	*nānā-dhātu*	*dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti*
4.	*nānā-dhātu*	*nānādhimukti*	*indriyaparāpara*
5.	*nānādhimukti*	*indriyaparāpara*	*nānādhimukti*
6.	*indriyaparāpara*	*dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti*	*nānā-dhātu* (?)
7.	*dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti*	*karma-vipāka*	*sarvatragāminī-pratipad*

knows according to reality the possible as possible and knows according to reality the impossible as impossible, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the possible as possible, and the impossible as impossible, this, Bhadrapāla, is the first *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[3] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā[4] which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the contexts, causes and consequences of past, future, and present acts and the undertaking of acts; this, Bhadrapāla, is the second *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[5] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar

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8. *pūrva-nivāsa*	*divya-cakṣus*	*divya-cakṣus*
9. *divya-cakṣus*	*pūrva-nivāsa*	*pūrva-nivāsa* (?)
10. *āsrava-kṣaya*	*āsrava-kṣaya*	*āsrava-kṣaya*

Note also that in the verses of the Tib. text the order of *balas* differs from the prose for the following nos.: 3--*nānādhimukti*; 4--*indriyaparāpara*; 5--*nānā-dhātu*; and 6--*sarvatragāminī-pratipad.*

3 Cf. T.416 (892c27): 'the power of place and not-place (處 非 處 力)'; and T.418 (917a24): 'the first is the complete knowledge of the restricted and the unrestricted (有 限 無 限 悉 知).'

4 On the 'Wheel of Brahmā' see *Traité* III, pp. 1598-1603.

5 T. 416 (893b22-25) '...the *Tathāgata*, with regard to the manifold distinctions of all acts and the innumerable distinctions in the retribution that these are likely to incur in the future, the *Tathāgata* knows these...this is the *Tathāgata*'s power of the knowledge of acts.' T.418 (917a24-25): 'the second is the complete knowledge of beginnings and ends (本 末), past, future, and present.'

Note that here the Tib. text (all witnesses collated) breaks the usual pattern, since the 'power' is not repeated as it is elsewhere. This points to the scribal error of *saut du même au même* early in the transmission of the Tib. text: having written the *mkhyen* of *mkhyen te* (cf. *Text*, p. 169, 1.8), the copyist has returned to the *mkhyen* of *mkhyen pa* (cf. 1.10), thereby omitting the intervening material: *te / bzang skyong / gang yang de bzhin gshegs pas 'das pa dang / ma 'ongs pa dang / da ltar byung ba'i las rnams dang / las yang dag par 'dzin pa rnams kyi gnas dang / rgyu dang / rnam par smin pa mkhyen pa yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu mkhyen.*

correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the way that leads everywhere, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the way that leads everywhere, this, Bhadrapāla, is the third *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[6] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the world with its manifold elements and its various elements, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the world with its manifold elements and its various elements, this, Bhadrapāla, is the fourth *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[7] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20E] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the

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6 T.416 (893a7): 'the *Tathāgata*'s power of the way that goes everywhere'; T.418 (917a28): 'the seventh is that he understands all, comprehends all, and knows all [?].' The identification for T.418 is doubtful.

7 T.416 (893a15-16): 'the *Tathāgata*'s power of the various elements of the world is that with regard to the immeasurable distinctions of the world's various elements, the *Tathāgata* knows these as they really are, through correct knowledge...' T.418 (917a27-28) has: 'the sixth is the complete knowledge of the countless events of so many kinds of transformations (變 = ?), but the translation is doubtful, as is the identification with *dhātu-jñāna-bala*. See below, n. 20.12. Cf. also *Traité* III, pp. 1549ff., where *dhātu* in this context is translated as 'disposition acquise'. I have preferred the standard translation of 'element', but if the interpretation of the *DZDL* is to be accepted as authoritative, then *dhātu* ought perhaps to be understood as 'element of the personality'.

cognition of the manifold inclinations of other beings and other persons, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the inclinations of other beings and other persons with their manifold inclinations and their disparate inclinations, this, Bhadrapāla, is the fifth *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[8] on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20F] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the superiority and inferiority of the faculties of other beings and other persons, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the superiority and inferiority of the faculties of other beings and other persons, this, Bhadrapāla, is the sixth *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[9] on the basis of that power the Tathāgata knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20G] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the defilement, purification, and the emergence[10] of trances, emancipations (Skt.

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8 T.416 (893a24-25): 'the Tathāgata's power of mental acts (心行力) is that, with regard to the immeasurable distinctions of the various mental acts of beings, he knows them all...' T.418 (917a27): 'the fifth is the complete knowledge of various beliefs (所信 = *adhimukti*).'

9 T.416 (893b4-5): 'the *Tathāgata*'s power of the distinction of beings' faculties is that, with regard to the various distinctions of the faculties of beings, he knows them all...' T.418 (917a26) has: 'the fourth is the complete knowledge of the various, separate thoughts (所念 = ?) of the faculties and vigour (諸根精進) [?]'; but I do not understand this. One might note, however, that at 2D T.418 (904b29) appears to translate *indriya* (attested to by Tib. and T.416) with 精進. Lokakṣema might there have understood *indriya* as 'virile power' rather than 'organ' or 'faculty'; but this does not explain the present instance, where both 諸根 and 精進 are found together.

10 *Vyavasthāna*, 'distinction', is also possible (cf. *Traité* III, p. 1506; *TSD*, s.v. *rnam par gzhag pa*), but T.416 supports *vyutthāna* (see n. 20.11). See also

vimokṣa), *samādhis*, and attainments (Skt. *samāpatti*), and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the defilement, purification and emergence of trances, emancipations, *samādhis*, and attainments, this, Bhadrapāla, is the seventh *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[11] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20H] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the recollection of former existences, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the recollection of former existences, this, Bhadrapāla, is the eighth *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[12] on

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Dayal 1932: 20 and n.69.

[11] T. 416 (893b13ff.): 'the Tathāgata's power of *dhyāna* and *samādhi* is that, with regard to all *dhyānas*, emancipations, and *samādhis*, their arisings (生起 = *vyutthāna*), defilements and eliminations, the *Tathāgata* knows them...' T.418 (917a25-26) has: 'the third is the complete knowledge of the purity of emancipations (棄脱 = *vimokṣa*?) and concentrations (定).'

[12] Cf. T.416 (893c19-894a7) for a full description of this 'power' (which incidentally conforms by and large to the Sanskrit formula given by Lamotte in *Traité* III, p. 1507, no. 8):

> Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata*'s power of the cognition of former existences (宿命智力) is that by means of his cognition of former existences the *Tathāgata* is able to know the past events of former existences, to wit, that a being was born here and died there, or that in a certain place he first underwent one birth (*jāti*) or two or three or five or ten or a hundred or a thousand, up to: underwent countless hundred births, countless thousand births, countless hundred thousand births, and so on until: countless *kalpas* of devolution (轉劫 = *saṃvarta-kalpa* ?), countless *kalpas* of evolution (定劫 = *vivarta-kalpa*?), countless *kalpas* of devolution and evolution (轉不轉劫 = *saṃvarta-vivarta-kalpa* ?)--he knows all of it truly; also he knows truly, with regard to the destiny in which that one was born, that he had such a place, such a family, such a lineage, such a name, such an appearance, such a clan (生中 = *jātya*), such food and dress, such activities, such good and evil, such suffering and joy, such pain and pleasure, up to: so many years of life; also he knows fully when he cast off his body in one place and was reborn in another place, that he had

the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20I] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of divine vision, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of divine vision, this is the ninth *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[13] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the

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> such a physical form, that he talked like this and experienced that, up to: his length of life, and all the events of his past. Therefore, Bhadrapāla, by means of his cognition of various countless former existences, the *Tathāgata* is able to know what that being has experienced in his former existences, from one birth to countless births; and he knows truly the events of his past, up to the length of his life. This then is the *Tathāgata's* power of the cognition of former existences.

T.418 (917a29) has: 'the ninth is the complete knowledge of infinite beginnings and endings', but this identification is doubtful. The *pūrva-nivāsa-jñāna* may possibly be identified with no. 6 of the list given in T.418 (917a27-28), 'the complete knowledge of the innumerable events of so many kinds of transformations [?].'

13 T.416 again preserves a fuller formula (893c2-14) which compares very closely with that given by Lamotte (*Traité* III, p. 1507, no. 9):

> Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata*'s power of the divine vision is that, by means of his pure divine vision, which surpasses human vision, the *Tathāgata* always sees those future beings dying here and being reborn there, and whether the bodies they receive are beautiful or ugly, good or bad, whether the forms (色 = *rūpa*? *varṇa*?) they get are fair or foul, fine or coarse, whether they are born to a good destiny (*sugati*) or born to a bad destiny (*durgati*); he also sees whether the acts beings have performed are good or evil, that some beings, who are evil in bodily acts (*kāyaduścaritena samanvāgata*), evil in acts of speech and evil in mental acts (*vāṅmanoduścaritena samanvāgata*), who revile the Holy Ones, abuse the True Dharma, and disrupt the Saṅgha, on account of their being endowed with such bad acts, their bodies disintegrate, their lives end, and they are reborn in an evil destiny; while other beings, who are good in bodily acts, good in acts of speech, and good in mental acts, who revere the Holy Ones, honour the True Dharma, and make offerings to the Saṅgha, on account of their

position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

[20J] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the destruction of the noxious influences, and, Bhadrapāla, when the *Tathāgata* knows according to reality the cognition of the destruction of the noxious influences, this is the tenth *Tathāgata*-power of *Tathāgatas*;[14] on the basis of that power the *Tathāgata* knows the position of leader of the herd, goes into the assembly and roars the Lion's Roar correctly, and turns the Wheel of Brahmā which no *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in this world is able to turn in accordance with the Dharma.'

'Bhadrapāla, these ten powers of a *Tathāgata* will be acquired by *bodhisattvas*.'

> being endowed with such good acts, at the end of their lives they obtain rebirth in the good destinies of humans and *devas*--such things as these, he knows them all truly. Bhadrapāla, by means of his pure divine vision the *Tathāgata* sees beings dying here and being reborn there, and so on up to: at the end of their lives being reborn in heaven. This then is the *Tathāgata*'s power of the cognition of death and rebirth (*cyutyupapāda-jñāna-bala*).

Cf. T.418 (917a28-29): 'the eighth is the complete knowledge of the unobstructed vision of the eye.'

14 T.416 (894a8-13) has the following (cf. *Traité* III, p. 1508, no.10):

> Further, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata*'s power of the destruction of the noxious influences (漏盡力) is that the *Tathāgata* is able to exhaust all existence and no longer be subject to the noxious influences, having become liberated in mind and wisdom, and having himself realised the Dharma (覺法 : a mistake for *dṛṣṭa eva dharme*?); therefore he announces: 'My births are exhausted, the holy life has been established, I have done my duty and will not undergo any rebirth.' Bhadrapāla, that the *Tathāgata* can thus destroy the noxious influences through himself realising the liberation of his mind and wisdom, and therefore say: 'My births are exhausted, up to: I will not undergo any rebirth,' and know it truly, this then is the *Tathāgata*'s power of the cognition of the destruction of the noxious influences.

Cf. T.418 (917b1): 'the tenth is that he is perfectly equal towards past, future, and present, and has no further attachment (無所適著 = *anāsrava*?).'

[20K] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[15]

[1] 'If they establish themselves in this *samādhi*,
Bodhisattvas will obtain
The stage of the powers expounded
By the Lord of the World, the Protector.

[2] The cognition according to reality
Of the possible and likewise the impossible
Is the first power of the Buddhas,
The Lords of the World, the Protectors.

[3] It is the first power of the Self-existent Ones,
The Lords of the World, the Protectors;
Established in it the Fully Awakened Ones
Teach the Dharma to beings.

[4] The cognition of acts
Past, future, and present
Is the second power of the Buddhas,
The Lords of the World, the Protectors.

[5] The cognition of inclinations,
Inferior, superior, or middling,
That is the third power
Of the glorious Fully Awakened Ones.

[6] Skill in the distinction of acute,

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15 One verse only in both T.416 (894a21-22) and T.418 (917b4-5). T.416 reads:

Eighteen are the dharmas exclusive to an Awakened One,
The powers of the Lords of the World now are ten;
Should one take up this *samādhi*,
Before long one will quickly obtain them.

T.416 is similar.

Middling, and inferior faculties
Is the fourth power of the Buddhas,
The Great Seers, the Fully Awakened Ones.

[7] The cognition of the various elements,
And the perfection of elements--
These stations are the fifth power
Of the Self-existent Ones.

[8] To walk here and there
On the ways that lead everywhere,
And to know them all
Is the sixth inconceivable power.

[9] To know the defilements
Of trances, emancipations, and attainments,
And to know when they are possible or not possible,
Is called the seventh power.

[10] The cognition of former existences
In which one has formerly existed,
As many as a *koṭi* of them back,
That is the eighth power.

[11] The acquisition of the perfection of vision
Which knows deaths and rebirths,
And sees the heavens and the states of woe,
This is the ninth power.

[12] Whichever *deva* or whichever human being
[Knows] "For me the noxious influences are all destroyed,
For me rebirth is destroyed,"
It is the tenth inconceivable power.

[13] These powers of the Self-existent Ones,
The Lords of the World, the Protectors--

None of them is difficult to obtain
If one establishes oneself in this *samādhi.*'

Chapter Twenty of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE[1]

[21A] 'What, Bhadrapāla, are those assurances (Skt. *vaiśāradya*) of a *Tathāgata* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*? Bhadrapāla, there are four of these assurances of a *Tathāgata* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are as follows: "I do not see any reason why a *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone in the world could rightfully accuse me, saying that for me who am perfectly awakened here are these dharmas with respect to which I am not fully and perfectly awakened; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless, I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any *śramaṇa*, brahman, *deva*, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone else in the world." This, Bhadrapāla, is the first *Tathāgata*-assurance of *Tathāgatas* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*.'

[21B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, "I do not see any reason why a *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in the world could rightfully accuse me, saying that for me in whom the noxious influences have been destroyed, there are these noxious influences which have not been destroyed; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless,

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1 As mentioned above (n. 20.1), Chap. 21 does not appear in the Chinese versions. It must therefore have been inserted into the text of the *PraS* at a comparatively late date (although not necessarily later than 595 C.E., the date of T.416). Chap. 21 treats of the four assurances (*vaiśāradya*) of a *Tathāgata*, which, along with the ten powers (Chap. 20) and the eighteen attributes exclusive to a Buddha (Chap. 22), are regarded in the Mahāyāna as the distinguishing characteristics of an Awakened One. For general information on the four assurances I refer the reader to *Traité* III, pp. 1567-1604. A standard Sanskrit formula for the assurances may be found *ibid.* p. 1568, and the reader may compare it with the Tibetan of our text, which differs slightly in form. Note that the wording of the first sentence of 21A presupposes a foregoing statement to the effect that *bodhisattvas* who undertake the *samādhi* will obtain the four assurances. That such a statement is nowhere to be found in the *PraS* re-inforces the supposition that this chapter has been 'lifted' from another source.

I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any *śramaṇa*, brahman, *deva*, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone else in the world." This, Bhadrapāla, is the second *Tathāgata*-assurance of *Tathāgatas* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*.'

[21C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, "I do not see any reason why a *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone else in the world could rightfully accuse me, saying that those things declared by me to be obstructive dharmas (Skt. *antarāyika-dharma*) turn out not to be obstructive dharmas if one resorts to them; not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless, I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any *śramaṇa*, brahman, *deva*, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone else in the world. This, Bhadrapāla, is the third *Tathāgata*-assurance of *Tathāgatas* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*.'.'

[21D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, "I do not see any reason why a *śramaṇa*, or brahman, or *deva*, or Māra, or Brahmā, or anyone in the world could rightfully accuse [me, saying that] the Dharma expounded by me as holy, conducive to deliverance, and leading to the complete destruction of suffering for those who practise it [does not lead to deliverance];[2] not seeing any such reason, I remain in good heart, I remain fearless, I remain secure, and I remain assured. Going into the assembly, I shall roar the Lion's Roar correctly. I shall turn the Wheel of Brahmā which has never been turned in accordance with the Dharma by any *śramaṇa*, brahman, *deva*, Māra, Brahmā, or anyone else in the world." This, Bhadrapāla, is the fourth *Tathāgata*-assurance of *Tathāgatas* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*.'.'

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2 The Tib. text (*Text*, p. 179, 1.8.) appears to be defective, omitting the required negative 'accusation'. One might therefore insert a hypothetical *la nges par 'byung bar mi 'gyur ro / zhes nga* (or similar wording) between the *chos bshad pa de* and the *la 'jig rten na* of line 8. Once again, a *saut du même au même* (cf. n. 20.5).

[21E] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

[1] 'Whatever assured Buddha there is
Will expound the assurances;
Having roared the Lion's Roar,
He also teaches the Dharma to the assemblies.

[2] They are not to be seen who can accuse
Him who claims to be perfectly awakened
With the words "To this dharma you are not awakened;"
Therefore the Buddha is assured.

[3] In the world with its *devas*
They are not to be seen who can accuse
Him who claims the noxious influences destroyed,
Saying: "These noxious influences are not destroyed."

[4] They are not to be seen who can accuse me
With the words "Whatever obstructive dharmas
Anyone ever resorts to
Turn out not to be obstructive."

[5] The most excellent Dharma which was expounded by me
For the purpose of winning Nirvāṇa
Is the most excellent station of Nirvāṇa,
Therefore no-one can accuse me.

[6] *Bodhisattvas* established in this *samādhi*
Will obtain
These assurances described
By the Lord of the World, the Protector.'

Chapter Twenty-one of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO[1]

[22A] 'Bhadrapāla, what are those eighteen exclusive Buddha-dharmas belonging to *Tathāgatas* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they undertake this *samādhi*? They are as follows, Bhadrapāla: between the night on which the *Tathāgata* is fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening, and the night on which he undergoes Parinirvāṇa in the realm of Nirvāṇa without any substratum remaining, the *Tathāgata* (1) does not slip up; (2) his speech is not faulty; (3) his memory is not defective; (4) his thoughts are never uncomposed; (5) he has no apperception of diversity; (6) his disinterestedness is never unconsidered; (7) he has no loss of zeal; (8) he has no loss of vigour; (9) he has no loss of mindfulness; (10) he has no loss of *samādhi*; (11) he has no loss of wisdom; (12) he has no loss of emancipation; (13) he has no loss of the cognition and vision of emancipation; (14) with regard to past time he possesses unimpeded and unattached cognition and vision; (15) with regard to future time he possesses unimpeded and unattached cognition and vision; (16) with regard to present time he possesses unimpeded and unattached cognition and vision; (17) all the *Tathāgata*'s bodily activity is preceded by cognition and follows cognition; (18) all the *Tathāgata*'s activity of speech is preceded by cognition and follows cognition; (19) all the *Tathāgata*'s mental activity is preceded by cognition and follows cognition.'

'These, Bhadrapāla, are the eighteen exclusive Buddha-dharmas belonging to *Tathāgatas* which *bodhisattvas* will obtain if they establish themselves in this *samādhi*.'

[22B] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

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1 As noted above, the prose section of Chap. 22 (22A) appears before Chap.20 in both Chinese versions, T.418 and T.416. It deals with the eighteen attributes exclusive to a Buddha (*aṣṭādaśāveṇika-buddha-dharma*), for a general survey of which see *Traité* III, pp. 1625-1703. In T.418 we have what must be one of the earliest datable appearances of this classification.

It will be seen that the Tib. actually gives **nineteen** *āveṇika-dharmas*. T.418 and T.416 both give eighteen, the former omitting Tib. no. 12, while the latter omits Tib. no. 9. T.418 in other respects agrees with the order of the Tib., but the list in T.416 is quite differently arranged--(by the numbering of the Tib.) 17-19; 14-16; 1-8; and 10-13.

[1] 'Listen to me as I expound
The dharmas exclusive to a Buddha,
Established in which the *Tathāgatas*
Turn the Wheel of Dharma.

[2] The night on which the Awakened One,
The *Tathāgata*, attained awakening,
And the night on which he underwent
Nirvāṇa without substratum,

[3] Between them whatever was said,
Is said, and will be said
Is all in accordance with reality;
That is the first exclusive.

[4] I do not stumble in the least,
I am not faulty in speech;
I am not deficient in speech,
Nor am I despondent.

[5] I am not forgetful,
My disinterestedness is not unconsidered;
I do not make distinctions between dharmas,
And I am always composed.

[6] My zeal does not fail,
Nor does my vigour fail;
I do not waver from *samādhi*,
And it is unfailing for me.

[7] My wisdom is unfailing,
My emancipation also unfailing;
My cognition and vision of emancipation
Are unfailing for me also.

[8] With regard to past time too
My cognition is unimpeded.
With regard to future time too
There is no obscuration for me.

[9] With regard to present time too
I am unattached;
I, the Protector, have unobscured cognition
With regard to all dharmas.

[10] All my bodily activity
Follows cognition;
All my activity of speech and mind
Is preceded by cognition.

[11] These are the eighteen
Dharmas exclusive to an Awakened One,
Established in which the *Tathāgatas*
Turn the Wheel of Dharma.

[12] If one has cultivated this *samādhi*,
The eighteen Buddha-dharmas,
The ten powers of a Teacher,
And the assurances are not difficult to obtain.'

Chapter Twenty-two of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

[T.418: Chapter Thirteen, Encouragement;[1]
T.416: Chapter Fifteen, The Merits of Rejoicing]

[23A] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should rejoice in this *samādhi* with four rejoicings (Skt. *anumodanā*).[2] What are the four? They are as follows: "Just as those former *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, when they formerly pursued the *bodhisattva*-course, rejoiced on hearing and receiving instruction in this *samādhi* in order to realise great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening, so I too rejoice on hearing this *samādhi*, in order to realise great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the first rejoicing of *bodhisattvas*.'[3]

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1 The title of the first part of this chapter in T.418 is 勸助, 'encouragement'. This could be a scribal corruption of 助歡, 'rejoicing', T.418's usual rendering of *anumodanā* being 助歡喜 (助 = *anu-*, or indicating the causative?). See also n. 23.7 and Appendix A.V.2.

2 On the question of *anumodanā* and the closely related theme of *pariṇamanā*, the so-called 'transfer' (of merit), but more properly its application, assignment or dedication, see *Traité* IV, pp. 1879-1901. Cf. also *Aṣṭa*, Chap. VI.

3 Cf. T.416 (894a28-b5) for a more ordered statement of the first 'rejoicing':

> What are the four rejoicings? Namely, those *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* should think thus: 'As all those past *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, when each of them practised as *bodhisattvas* in the past, obtained this *samādhi* through rejoicing, perfected great learning because of the *samādhi*, and quickly attained *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi* by means of great learning, so today I also should thus obtain this *samādhi* through rejoicing, perfect great learning because of the *samādhi*, and quickly attain supreme *bodhi* by means of great learning!' This, Bhadrapāla, is the first heap of merit connected with rejoicing of *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas*.

In general T.416's treatment of 23A-D is fuller and more coherent than that found in the Tibetan, and makes clear the logical sequence: rejoicing > hearing the *samādhi* > great learning > awakening. In the Tib. translation, and also in T.418, the order of the first two terms is reversed.

[23B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla: "Just as those future *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, when they pursue the *bodhisattva*-course, will rejoice on hearing and receiving instruction in this *samādhi*, in order to obtain great learning and realise great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening, so I too rejoice!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the second rejoicing of *bodhisattvas*.'

[23C] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should declare: "Just as the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones of the present, when they formerly pursued the *bodhisattva*-course, rejoiced on hearing and receiving instruction in this *samādhi*, realised great learning, and have become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening at the present time, and just as *bodhisattvas* at present rejoice in this *samādhi*, so I too rejoice on hearing this *samādhi* now, in order to realise great learning for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the third rejoicing of *bodhisattvas*.'

[23D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* should declare: "May all this merit connected with rejoicing, being shared by me with all beings, lead to supreme and perfect awakening; may it also lead to the obtaining of this *samādhi*; and may it lead to the realisation of great learning!" This, Bhadrapāla, is the fourth merit connected with rejoicing of *bodhisattvas*.'

'Bhadrapāla, when the *bodhisattvas* who obtain this merit connected with rejoicing and this *samādhi* have fulfilled the dharmas conducive to awakening (Skt. *bodhipākṣika-dharma*), they will quickly become awakened to supreme and perfect awakening.'

[23E] 'Bhadrapāla, I shall give an illustration of how great the mass of merit is which will be acquired by *bodhisattvas* if they rejoice in this *samādhi* with those rejoicings and make a dedication [of the resulting merit].'

'For example, Bhadrapāla, suppose there is a certain man whose life lasts for many centuries, who lives for many centuries, and who is as swift and powerful as the wind. If he were to travel east without resting for a full century, and was likewise to travel south, west, north, and towards the nadir and zenith as well, then, Bhadrapāla, what would you think? Would any man be able to calculate, measure, conceive, or assess how many *yojanas* might be

travelled by that man whose life lasts for centuries, who lives for centuries, and who is as swift and powerful as the wind, that man who travels without resting in the six quarters, going through each quarter for one century?'

The *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla said:

'Reverend Lord, that would be impossible, except for the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One, the Elder Śāradvatīputra, and *bodhisattvas* incapable of regression.'[4]

[23F] The Lord said:

'If any women or men should fill with gold and silver the regions passed through by the man who lives for centuries and travels as swiftly as the swiftness of the wind, and should offer that to the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones, and yet not hear this *samādhi*; and if any *bodhisattvas* should rejoice with those four rejoicings on hearing this *samādhi*, and having rejoiced should also make a dedication [of the merit], out of a desire for great learning, for the sake of supreme and perfect awakening--then, Bhadrapāla, the former mass of merit would not even approximate a hundredth part of the latter mass of merit. It would not even approximate a thousandth part, a hundred-thousandth, a hundred-*koṭi* part, a hundred-thousand-*koṭinayuta* part, [and would defy comparison in terms of] a number, a fraction, a computation, a simile, or a likeness.'[5]

SEVENTH AND FINAL BAMPO

'See, Bhadrapāla, how greatly beneficial to *bodhisattvas* the mass of merit connected with rejoicing in this *samādhi* is! Therefore, Bhadrapāla, one should understand in this way that the mass of merit connected with rejoicing in this *samādhi* is a great benefit to *bodhisattvas*.'

[23G] [EXISTS IN T.418 ONLY][6]

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4 Cf. T.416 (894b28-c15) for a more elaborate version of this section. T.418, although condensed, agrees more with the Tibetan than with T.416.

5 For Tib. *rgyu* = Skt. *upaniṣad* in this stock formula, see *BHSD*, s.v.

6 The six *gāthās* which follow are to be found only in T.418 (917c6-18). Their appearance here is quite comprehensible, as they recapitulate the preceding prose section on 'rejoicing' (23A-F) and mark it off from the

Then the Lord recited *gāthās*, saying:

[1] 'With regard to the teaching of this *sūtra*
They possess four articles of rejoicing,
The Lords of the past, the future,
And the present.

[2] The practice of the merit of encouragement[7]
Liberates [those in] the ten quarters;
[Even] those things that flutter and wriggle
Shall all attain equal awakening.

[3] For example, all around here
In the four quarters, and up and down,
A man, once born, travels for centuries,
Travels without resting till the end of his life.

[4] Should one want to measure the distance [he travels],
Its extent would be hard to calculate;
Only the Buddha [and his ?] disciple would know,
And *bodhisattvas* incapable of regression.

[5] To fill [the worlds he traverses] with precious things
and make a gift [of them]
Would not compare with hearing this dharma;
As for the four articles of encouragement,
Their merit exceeds that other.

[6] Further, Bhadrapāla, observe these
Four articles of rejoicing;

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following passages (23H-V), which, although they occasionally refer back to the four rejoicings, can nevertheless be regarded as constituting a separate chapter. In fact, T.418 designates them as such: 'Chapter Fourteen, The Buddha Siṃhamati'.

7 Here, as also in Verses 5 and 6, we continue to find an apparent confusion between 'rejoicing' and 'encouragement'; cf. n. 23.1.

Gifts by the myriads of *koṭis*
Are not equal to encouragement [?].'

[T.418: Chapter Fourteen, The Buddha Siṃhamati]

[23H] 'Bhadrapāla, long ago in the past, at a time and in an age more incalculable than incalculable, vast, immeasurable, inconceivable *kalpas* ago there appeared in the world a *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One by the name of Siṃhamati, One Accomplished in Knowledge and Conduct, a *Sugata*, a Knower of the World, a Leader of All Men Capable of Conversion, a Supreme One, a Teacher of *Devas* and Humankind, a Buddha and Lord.'

[23I] 'At that time, Bhadrapāla, this Jambudvīpa was prosperous, extensive, happy, affluent, pleasant, populous, and thickly peopled. At that time, Bhadrapāla, here in Jambudvīpa there were 68,000[8] great cities, all of them constructed of the seven precious things, containing nine *koṭis* of households, and measuring twelve *yojanas*. At that time, Bhadrapāla, this Jambudvīpa was extensive and vast, being namely 68,000 *yojanas*[9] in extent. At that time, Bhadrapāla, here in Jambudvīpa the place where that *Tathāgata* was born was in fact a certain great city by the name of *Bhadraṃkara,[10] and in that great city lived sixty *koṭis* of beings.'

[23J] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, at that time, at the first assembly of disciples of that *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Siṃhamati, ninety *koṭis* of *arhats*[11] assembled. After seven days, at the second assembly of disciples, ninety *koṭis* of disciples assembled. After another seven days, at the third

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8 T.418 (917c27): '6,400,000 cities (六百四十萬國)'; T.416 (895a3): '18,000'.

9 T.418 (917c26): '180,000 *koṭinayutas* of *yojanas*'; T.416 (895a3): '18,000 *yojanas*'.

10 Tib. Bzang po byung (R: 'byung) ba. T.416 translates with 賢作, while T.418 transliterates with 跋登加(Badengjia). The first element must be some form of *bhadra*, while the 登 of T.418 suggests the *anusvāra bhadraṃ-*. Bhadraṃkara is most likely; see *BHSD*, s.v. *bhadrika* (6).

11 According to T.416 (895a9-12) ninety *koṭis* of human beings attained arhatship at each of Siṃhamati's first three assemblies, which is perhaps more logical. This section is not found in T.418.

assembly of disciples, ninety *koṭis* assembled. Ninety *koṭis* of pure *bodhisattvas* also assembled. Thereafter the disciples of that Lord passed beyond computation.'

'At that time and in that age, Bhadrapāla, those human beings fully adhered to the ten good ways of action, just as, for example, beings under the teaching of the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Maitreya shall be endowed with the ten good ways of action. At that time, Bhadrapāla, the life-span of beings amounted to 84,000 years.'[12]

[23K] 'At that time, Bhadrapāla, there was in that great city a Universal Monarch (Skt. *cakravartin*) by the name of Viśeṣagāmin,[13] endowed with the seven precious things[14] and having a full thousand sons, who went to that Lord and *Tathāgata* Siṃhamati, and paid honours to him. Then, Bhadrapāla, the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One Siṃhamati, knowing the resolve of that king Viśeṣagāmin, taught and expounded this *samādhi*. Thereupon, Bhadrapāla, that king Viśeṣagāmin rejoiced on hearing this *samādhi*. And having rejoiced he sprinkled handfuls of gems over that Lord.'

[23L] 'Thereafter he died, and by virtue of that wholesome potentiality he was reborn here in Jambudvīpa in that very same royal house, after the Nirvāṇa of that *Tathāgata*. At that time, Bhadrapāla, there had appeared under that *Tathāgata*'s teaching a *bhikṣu* and a preacher of Dharma called *Ratna,[15] who taught in full and proclaimed this *samādhi* to the four assemblies. At that time,

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12 T.416 (895a16-17) adds: 'exactly the same as the life-span of humankind at the time of Maitreya.' According to other sources, the life-span of human beings under the reign of Maitreya will be 80,000 years; see *Traité* I, p. 4, n. 3, for references to the literature on Maitreya, the future Buddha.

13 Tib. Khyad par du 'gro ba; T.416 勝遊; T.418 惟斯芩 (Weisiqin). Viśeṣagāmin is the most likely reconstruction; it appears as the name of a former incarnation of Śākyamuni (see *BHSD*, s.v.), while *KP* 6 has *khyad par du 'gro ba* rendering *viśeṣagāmitā*.

14 I.e. the *cakravartinām sapta-ratnāni*, or the seven precious possessions of a 'Universal Monarch', namely *cakra-*, *hasti-*, *aśva-*, *maṇi-*, *strī-*, *gṛhapati-*, and *pariṇāyaka-ratnas*. T.418 does not mention them, but T.416 gives the full list (895a18-20), and describes the king's qualities in greater detail.

15 Tib. Rin chen mchog suggests Ratnavara, Ratnottama, but the Chinese do not bear this out. Further, the Tib. text at 23Vv4 has simply Rin chen; consequently our hypothetical reconstruction will be just *Ratna.

Bhadrapāla, that king called Viśeṣagāmin, who had become a prince by the name of Brahmadatta, heard that *bhikṣu* expounding this *samādhi*. Hearing it, and as soon as he heard it, he was filled with faith, and with thoughts of faith he showered that *bhikṣu* with a hundred thousand gold pieces and a double length of fine cloth.'

[23M] 'Then, Bhadrapāla, after hearing this *samādhi* from that *bhikṣu*, and after showering that *bhikṣu* [with gifts] because had spoken so well, that prince Brahmadatta conceived the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening. After he had conceived the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening, out of a desire for the *samādhi* he, together with a full thousand beings, shaved off hair and beard and donned yellow robes in his desire for the Dharma, and faithfully went forth from the household life into the houseless state, under that *bhikṣu* and preacher of the Dharma. After going forth, even though he and his retinue of a thousand beings honoured and followed that *bhikṣu* for 8,000 years, he never obtained this *samādhi* from that *bhikṣu*, except for that one hearing. Having heard it not twice, but once only, did he rejoice [in it] with those four rejoicings.'[16]

[23N] 'Through that wholesome potentiality he, and those full thousand beings with him, encountered 68,000 Buddhas. Expounding this *samādhi* and proclaiming it in full to others in all his rebirths, he also encountered another 68,000 Buddhas in succession. Through obtaining this *samādhi* and that wholesome potentiality connected with rejoicing, he realised the dharmas conducive to awakening; having become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening, he became a *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One by the name of Dṛḍhavīrya,[17] and established immeasurable hundred thousand

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16 T.416 (895b10-11): '...hearing it he rejoiced, and taking the merit of the four kinds of rejoicing he dedicated (*pariṇām-*) it to *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*.'

17 Tib. Brtson 'grus brtan pa renders *dṛḍhavīrya* ('of steadfast energy') in *KP* 153, and it is most probable that it does so here too. T.416 has 堅固精進, which gives the same meaning, while T.418's transliteration clinches the matter: it has 坻羅惟是逮. 坻羅 is clearly *dṛḍha*, and for 惟逮 = *vīrya* see Lancaster 1968: 383 (no. 78), where 惟逮 used for *vīrya* is cited from the translations of the *Aṣṭa* by Lokakṣema and ?Dharmapriya (see also Coblin 1981: No. 82). The 是 in T.418 is probably a scribal error; in T.417 (902a27-28) the name is given

koṭinayutas of beings in supreme and perfect awakening.'

'By virtue of this same wholesome potentiality, brought to full maturity by *samādhi*, those thousand beings also realised the dharmas conducive to awakening and became fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening; they all became *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones by the name of *Dṛḍhaśūra,[18] and established innumerable hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of beings in supreme and perfect awakening.'

[23O] 'See, Bhadrapāla, how beneficial the mass of merit connected with rejoicing in this *samādhi* is! Even those who just make a verbal declaration connected with rejoicing achieve supreme and perfect awakening, Bhadrapāla, to say nothing of those *bodhisattvas* who on hearing this *samādhi* accept, master, keep, read, and proclaim it in full to others, and continue to exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it.[19] Are there any people, Bhadrapāla, who on hearing this *samādhi* would not rejoice in it, not receive instruction in it, not master, not keep, nor proclaim it in full to others, and not continue to exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it? Why is that, Bhadrapāla? It is because through hearing this *samādhi* all the dharmas conducive to awakening of *bodhisattvas* are fully realised.'

[23P] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you: if *bodhisattvas* who are endowed with resolve and who strive for awakening should hear that this *samādhi* is a *yojana*[20] away, then, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who are endowed with resolve and who strive for awakening should travel that distance of a *yojana* in order to hear this *samādhi*. Having heard it they should accept, master, keep and read it, they should teach, expound and proclaim it in full to

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simply as 坻羅惟逮. At 23Vv10 T.418 has the translation 堅精進.

18 Tib. Dpa' brtan pa. T.416 has 堅勇 (both here and at 23Vv11) while T.418 has the transliteration 坻羅首羅鬱沈 (Di(?)luoshouluoyuchen) at 23N, and the translation 堅勇 at 23Vv11. T.417 (902a29) has only 坻羅鬱沈. 坻羅 once again is clearly *dṛḍha*, but the second element, meaning 'heroism', 'courage', or 'hero' is problematical. While T.418's 首羅 is very probably *śūra*, 鬱沈, which Coblin (1981: No. 169) lists as a transcription for *uttama*, could suggest an original *Dṛḍhaśūrottama. For the time being, however, I have adopted the reconstruction *Dṛḍhaśūra.

19 These first two sentences of 23O are not found in T.418.

20 T.418 (918a27): 'forty *li* (里)'; T.416 (895c2): 'a hundred *yojanas*'.

others, and they should take pleasure in cultivating it.'

[23Q] 'Bhadrapāla, never mind about one *yojana*, never mind about two *yojanas*,[21] or three *yojanas*, or four *yojanas*, or from five *yojanas* up to ten *yojanas*--Bhadrapāla, even if *bodhisattvas* should hear that this *samādhi* is a hundred *yojanas* away, that in such and such a region this *bodhisattvas' samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present is circulating, then, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who are endowed with resolve and who strive for awakening should with minds free of despondency, indifference, fear, idleness and distress, and with unremitting exertion of vigour travel those hundred *yojanas*, even if it is only for the sake of hearing just a little of this *samādhi*, to say nothing of receiving instruction, mastering, proclaiming, and cultivating it. Why is that, Bhadrapāla? It is because the dharmas conducive to awakening of *bodhisattvas* depend on this *samādhi*.'

[23R] 'In that respect, Bhadrapāla, those *bodhisattvas* who are endowed with resolve and who strive for awakening should evoke the apperception of Teacher towards the masters from whom they hear this *samādhi* after travelling those one hundred *yojanas*. They should honour those sons of good family who preach the Dharma with all honours, and they should follow them. They should follow them for one year, or two, or three, or four, or five, or ten years, or a hundred, or for as long as they live, even if it is merely for the sake of hearing this *samādhi*, to say nothing of receiving instruction in it, mastering, copying, keeping, proclaiming and cultivating it.'

[23S] 'Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family should relinquish their own minds, and having relinquished them should become of like mind with those masters. They should follow the masters with reverence and respect. They should follow them with obedience. They should follow them by not being disobedient, by constancy of devotion, by the elimination of fickleness, and by the absence of wrong views. They should evoke the apperception of good friend; towards them they should also evoke the apperception of Teacher.

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21 T.416, having begun with a hundred *yojanas* in 23P, continues in 23Q with 200, 300, 400 *yojanas*, etc. Cf. T.418 (918b1-5), where the point being made is somewhat obscure; in general sections 23P-U in T.418 are considerably briefer than in the other two versions.

Bhadrapāla, if those *bodhisattvas* behave in that way towards those masters, then there will be no possibility or chance, it will be impossible that they should not at the very least manage to hear this *samādhi*, unless they formerly performed and accumulated acts conducive to the ruin of the Dharma.'[22]

[23T] 'Those *bodhisattvas* should be bashful, thankful, and appreciative towards those masters. If in that way for them the text of that *samādhi* will long endure and be unobscured, Bhadrapāla, then how much more will it be so for *bodhisattvas* who, when they hear that this *samādhi* is in another town, or hear that it is in the area of another town, having so heard should go there, even if it is only for the sake of hearing it, to say nothing of receiving instruction in it, mastering, keeping, reading, copying, cultivating and proclaiming it to others?'[23]

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22 T.416 (895c27-29) is slightly different: '...excepting only [those of] impure acts, for whom the time has come when their former act of reviling such a profound *sūtra* has matured, and they fall into an evil destiny [?].' For this section T.418 (918b8) has only: 'These *bodhisattvas* are not self-centred (不得自用), but should follow that teacher's teaching.'

23 T.416 (896a2-7) makes a different point. After remarking that the *bodhisattvas* should regard their teachers with all due gratitude, etc., it continues:

> Why is that, Bhadrapāla? By means of the preaching of these teachers of Dharma, this *sūtra* is caused to exist for a long time, and does not disappear. Further, Bhadrapāla, if *bodhisattvas* should travel to a place a thousand *yojanas* distant for the sake of this *samādhi*, then if it is to be found near at hand in a city, a country, a village, a desert, or a mountainous wilderness, how much more [readily] would they not travel to hear and read it, meditate on its meaning, and proclaim it to others?

T.418 (918b8-14) shows 23T and 23U in a condensed form, and yields quite a different sense from the Tibetan:

> They should always be mindful of their teacher's kindness. The Buddha said: I therefore say to you: if *bodhisattvas* hear that this *samādhi* exists 4,000 *li* distant, and wish to go to that place, then even if he does not manage to hear this *samādhi*,' the Buddha said, 'I tell you that those people, by virtue of their energetic searching, will never again lose the Way of the Buddha [= *bodhi*]. They will be able to attain Buddhahood for themselves. Do you not see, Bhadrapāla, that the *bodhisattvas* who, hearing of this *samādhi*, think of searching for it unremittingly obtain a most exalted

[23U] 'Bhadrapāla, as for *bodhisattvas* who in their quest for this *samādhi* manage nothing more than to hear this *samādhi*--Bhadrapāla, I announce to you, I inform you--one should know that those *bodhisattvas* are incapable of regression from supreme and perfect awakening by virtue of the wholesome potentiality [which derives] from seeking this very *samādhi*, the wholesome potentiality from striving for the Dharma, the wholesome potentiality from desiring the Dharma, and the wholesome potentiality from vigorous self-application, to say nothing, Bhadrapāla, of those *bodhisattvas* who receive instruction in, master, keep and read this *samādhi*, and after having received instruction in, mastered, kept, and read it, teach, announce and proclaim it to others, and continue to exert themselves in the endeavour to cultivate it'[24]

[23V] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:[25]

[1] 'I recall a former *Tathāgata*,
A Supreme Human by the name of Siṃhamati,
Under whom that king, lord of humankind,
Heard at that time this *samādhi*.

[2] On hearing this *samādhi* the king
Accepted it with incomparably joyful thoughts,
And scattered handfuls of jewels
Over that Supreme Human, the Buddha Siṃhamati.

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benefit?

24 For T.418's version of this section, see the preceding note. In a similar vein T.416 declares that even if *bodhisattvas* go a thousand *yojanas* for the sake of this *samādhi* and yet do **not** succeed in hearing it (the Tibetan appears to have dropped this negative), nevertheless, through the merit of seeking it they still attain the state of non-regression. So how much more likely are those who **do** hear it, and then accept, read, cultivate it, etc. to become incapable of regression? They attain a considerable accumulation of merit. Whether people hear it or not, they all attain non-regression, so how much more blessed are those who, having heard it, then accept it, read it, meditate on it, etc.? The sense given here is borne out by the verses: see 23Vv13-14 in all versions.

25 The following fifteen verses are also to be found in T.418 and T.416 in the same order as in the Tibetan.

[3] "May this *samādhi*, well spoken by the Lord,
Be to the benefit of all beings!
Today I take refuge in you!"
So thinking, he also declared it in words.

[4] By virtue of his action that king,
Having died, was reborn in the same place,
And saw the *bhikṣu* by the name of *Ratna,
Widely renowned and of great authority.

[5] He heard the same [*samādhi*] again from him,
And hearing it experienced great joy;
Experiencing it, he rejoiced, bent upon awakening,
Having showered the *bhikṣu* with gold and robes.

[6] Out of the desire for this *samādhi*
He went forth, together with a thousand beings;
And for a full 8,000 years
They all followed that *bhikṣu*.

[7] Not twice, but only once did they hear
This *samādhi*, which is like an ocean of learning;
With unwearying recollection of it,
They sought this peaceful *samādhi*.

[8] Because they had all performed this act,
They encountered a full 68,000
Buddhas of great might;
From whom they heard this *samādhi*.

[9] Thereupon they also made offerings
To a full 68,000 other *Sugatas*,
Declaring: "We rejoiced
Under the *Sugata* Siṃhamati!"

[10] Through that act of merit that king

Became a Buddha by the name of Dṛḍhavīrya;[26]
Inconceivable *koṭinayutas* of beings
Were all delivered by him from birth and death.

[11] The thousand too, following his example,
Became Buddhas by the name of *Dṛḍhaśūra,[27]
Renowned in the world with its *devas*;
If they experienced awakening
just through the sound of this *samādhi*,

[12] It goes without saying, and is forever beyond doubt
That they shall attain awakening
Who teach this *samādhi* in full,
Without relying on all existences.

[13] Even if this peaceful *samādhi*, spoken by the Buddha,
Should be a hundred *yojanas* distant,
Those who strive for awakening, not resting night or day,
Should go and hear it.

[14] If, having gone, they do not obtain it,
Their merit is nevertheless immeasurable;
That engenders awakening for them,
To say nothing of those who go and do hear it.[28]

[15] Therefore those who desire this *samādhi*
Ought first to call that Brahmadatta to mind.
To the *bhikṣus* who possess this *samādhi*

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26 Cf. T.418 (918c4), whose version of these two *pādas* runs: 'Receiving this merit [he] was born in a royal house, / And saw a Buddha called Dṛḍhavīrya.' T.416 agrees with the Tib.

27 As in Verse 10, T.418 (918c6) presents a different version of the first two *pādas*: 'After reciting and studying this dharma, / [They] then saw another Buddha called *Dṛḍhaśūra.' Again, T.416 supports the sense of the Tibetan.

28 T.418 (918c13): 'How much more for those who, having heard it, then accept it?'; T.416 (896b19): 'How much more those who, having heard it, consider it and expound it?'

One should resort with indefatigable thoughts.'

[T.418: Chapter Fifteen, The Buddha Satyanāma;
T.416: Chapter Sixteen, Awakening]

[23W] [APPEARS IN CHINESE ONLY; T.416 GIVEN][29]

Then the Lord again addressed the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla, saying:

'Bhadrapāla, I remember that formerly, more than many immeasurable *asaṃkhyeya-kalpas* ago, there appeared in the world a Buddha called Satyanāma, a *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One, endowed with all the Ten Titles. At that time there was a *bhikṣu* called Varuṇa, who after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha proclaimed and expounded this *samādhi-sūtra*. At the time I was the king of a great kingdom, and single-mindedly sought this sublime *samādhi*. Then in a dream I heard the location of this *samādhi* announced. On waking I therefore went in person to where the *bhikṣu*-teacher was, in search of this *samādhi*, and then asked that teacher of

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29 The following prose section, which presents the material that is recapitulated in verse in 23X, is missing from the Tib. text, but appears both in T.418 and T.416 (see Concordance); it is also summarised in T.417. In content this section echoes both the *avadāna* given earlier (23H-N) and the observations made following it (23O-U); Siṃhamati becomes Satyanāma; King Viśeṣagāmin, reincarnated as Prince Brahmadatta, becomes an unnamed king, later to be Śākyamuni; and *Ratna becomes Varuṇa. The story built around these characters inculcates the extreme value of the *samādhi* (by which is understood both the *sūtra* and the practice it expounds), the huge sacrifices one willingly makes to hear and acquire it, and the devotion one should accord to those that preach it. The substance of all this is repeated in 23Xvl-15.

By the time of the Tib. translation this prose section had clearly dropped out of some versions of the *PraS* in circulation; in point of fact, however, one wonders if this had not happened earlier, since T.416, usually much more detailed and rounded out than T.418, here follows T.418 suspiciously closely, in content if not in diction. This is not to say that all the material found in T.416, 23W, is to be found in T.418, but almost all of it is, and what is not could well be the result of a clever paraphrase of the more formulaic portions of the earlier text. Another suspicious point is that T.416's transliterations of proper names (Satyanāma, Varuṇa) follow T.418's exactly, although generally T.416 translates names, and does not transliterate them. Thus we should be aware of the possibility that Jñānagupta, faced by the same form of the text which confronted the Tibetan translator(s), might have had recourse to the earlier Chinese version to fill the *lacuna*.

Dharma if I could shave my hair off and leave the household life in order to seek, hear and receive this *samādhi*. In the personal service of the teacher of Dharma Varuṇa I spent 36,000 years, but, impeded by Māra, I did not manage to hear it.'

Then the Lord again addressed the *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas*, and *upāsikās*, saying:

'I now tell you that you should in all haste hear and accept this king of *samādhis* without delay and without forgetfulness, serving the teacher well and without fail, seeking this *samādhi* and making its acquisition your goal. Whether it takes one *kalpa* or as many as a hundred thousand, if you do not become lazy-minded there is nothing you will not gain. Bhadrapāla, if people seek this *samādhi* singlemindedly they should constantly follow their teachers and never forsake them, they should make them offerings, namely of medicinal broths, drink and food, clothes, bedding, and various utensils, even all their gold, silver and jewels. All their wealth they should offer to their teachers without begrudging it, and if they have nothing of their own they should beg for it and then offer it. They shall quickly obtain the *samādhi* and not give rise to thoughts of dissatisfaction. Bhadrapāla, setting aside these customary offerings, if the teachers have need of them, those seekers of the Dharma should go so far as to cut off their own body, their flesh, their limbs and trunk, and offer them to their teachers. If their teachers have need of their lives they should still not begrudge them, so how could they not offer external things to their teachers? Such is the way, Bhadrapāla, in which these seekers of the Dharma, in serving Teachers of Dharma, will assist and obey them. Further, they will serve their teachers as slaves obey their masters; as ministers serves their princes so will they serve their teachers. Thus these people will quickly obtain the *samādhi*. Having obtained the *samādhi* they should remember it and bear it in mind, being ever grateful to their teachers and constantly thinking of how to repay them.'

'Bhadrapāla, this jewel of a *samādhi* is not easy to hear. Even if a certain man for over a hundred thousand *kalpas* seeks only to hear its name he might still not manage to hear it, much less copy it, read it, keep it, and then expound it to others once he has heard it. Bhadrapāla, if as many Buddha-fields as there are sands in the Ganges were filled with jewels and used to perform an offering, although the merit of that would be considerable, it

would still not compare with that of hearing the name of this *sūtra*, and the merit acquired by copying one *gāthā* would be beyond comparison.'

Then the Lord uttered these *gāthās* in order to further elucidate this meaning:[30]

[23X] [FROM THE TIBETAN]

[1] 'I remember how, in a former birth,
Even though I constantly waited on a preacher of Dharma
For a full 36,000 years,[31]
I never heard this *samādhi*.

[2] The former Buddha Satyanāma appeared;
Then, subsequent to the teaching of the *Sugata*,
A young *bhikṣu*,[32] greatly learned,
Held at that time this very *samādhi*.

[3] Then I, as a *kṣatriya* king,
Heard in a dream of this *samādhi*:
"Such and such a *bhikṣu*[33] has this *samādhi*;
In his presence hear it well!"

[4] Quickly rising, I sought in haste
The *bhikṣu* who held this;
Finding him, I went forth, and then
[Asked] if I could hear it sometime.

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30 Here follow 15 verses in Tib. T.418 has 12 verses (Tib. 1-9; an amalgam of 10 and 11; one not found in Tib.; and 12), while T.416 has 13 (Tib. 1-9; an amalgam of 10 and 11; 12; and two not found in Tib.). See below for details.

31 Both Chinese versions: '60,000 years' (for T.416 adopt SYM reading).

32 Both Chinese versions give the *bhikṣu*'s name: Varuṇa. Tib. has probably misread Varuṇa as *taruṇa* (= *gzhon nu*), or this mistake has crept into the text used by the Tibetans.

33 Once again, both Chinese versions name the *bhikṣu*.

[5] For a full 66,000 years[34]
I honoured that *bhikṣu* joyfully,
But because I was controlled by Māra,
I never once heard it.

[6] Therefore I declare to, and I inform
Bhikṣus and *bhikṣuṇīs*,
Upāsakas and *upāsikās*:
On hearing this *samādhi* accept it quickly!

[7] And after remaining there for a whole *kalpa*,
Honouring and waiting on that bearer of the *samādhi*,
After honouring him well for a thousand *kalpas*,
He expounded this *samādhi*.

[8] To those *bhikṣus* engaged in this spotless *samādhi*,
As they beg in the town,
Should be given food, drink, bedding,
And likewise clothes by the *koṭi*.

[9] Never mind all the many *koṭis*
Of drink, food, beds, seats, and likewise clothes,
One goes so far as to give one's own flesh,
To say nothing of food and drink, if one acts rightly.

[10] Having become their constant servants, honouring them,
And also seeking this peaceful *samādhi*,
The wise, even though they perform it quickly when they obtain it,
Are not [able to be sufficiently?] appreciative towards them.[35]

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[34] Not 36,000, as in the prose of 23W. According to T.418 (919a19), 80,000 years; but T.416 (897a3) has 36,000.

[35] This verse and those preceding it (7-9) are not at all clear to me, and I am far from satisfied with the translation I have given. For Verse 10 the Chinese is of little assistance; the tenth verse in both Chinese versions appears to consist of the last two *pādas* of Tib. 10 and the first two of Tib. 11. E.g. T.418 (919a29-b1) runs as follows:

Wise people, obtaining the dharma, quickly take it and

[11] Even though one seeks it for many *koṭis* of *kalpas*,
It is very difficult to obtain this *samādhi*,
Let alone memorise it and teach it,
When one has heard its words at last.

[12] It is harder to grasp the measure of the merit of those
Who have taught a single verse from this,
Than of those who have filled with jewels, and made a gift of
As many world-systems as there are sands in the Ganges.[36]

[13] It is harder to grasp the measure of the merit of those
Who have taught a single verse from this,
Than of those who constantly continue
to apply themselves with vigour

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practise it;
Allowed to study the *sūtra* they are thankful.
This *samādhi* is difficult to find;
One must ever seek it for *koṭinayutas* of *kalpas*.

T.416 (897a13-14) is fairly similar. On the basis of the Chinese, the Tib. *byas pa gzo ba ma yin no* looks decidedly strange. After the verse quoted above, T.418 adds an extra verse (919b2-3):

Wherever in one's going around [?] one hears this dharma,
One should proclaim it widely to students;
If for *koṭis* of thousand *nayutas* of *kalpas*
One seeks this *samādhi*, it is difficult to hear.

This is not found in T.416.

36 Verse 12 appears in both Chinese versions, but Verses 13-15 do not. T.418 has nothing following, while T.416 has two verses (897a17-20):

If those who correctly expound one *gāthā*
Exceed *nayutas* of *kalpas*,
How much more those who, hearing it, can propagate it--
Their merit is indescribable.

If people delight in practising *bodhi*,
They should seek this dharma for the sake of all;
Certainly they will be capable of correct awakening,
the highest way [?];
Having heard it, they abide securely in this concentration.

For as many *koṭis* of *kalpas* as there are sands in the Ganges.

[14] It is harder to grasp the measure of the merit of those
Who have taught a single verse from this,
Than of those who constantly cultivate trance with detachment
For as many *koṭis* of *kalpas* as there are sands in the Ganges.

[15] It is harder to grasp the measure of the merit of those
Who have taught a single verse from this,
Than of those who are constantly established in wisdom
For as many *koṭis* of *kalpas* as there are sands in the Ganges.'

Chapter Twenty-three of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR[1]

[T.418: Chapter Sixteen, The Buddha's Seal;
T.416: Chapter Seventeen, The Entrusting]

[24A] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, faithful sons or daughters of good family should listen to this *samādhi* respectfully. And having heard it they should accept, master, copy, keep and read it. And having accepted and mastered it, they should proclaim it in full to others; they should copy it well and store it away.[2] Why is that, Bhadrapāla? At a future time, after I have passed away, there will appear many *bodhisattvas* who have faith, are trusting, and are highly discerning,[3] and they will seek great learning for the benefit and happiness of beings. In the quest for great learning they will range through the quarters and the intermediate quarters in search of the True Dharma. So, Bhadrapāla, it is for the benefit and sake of such beings as they, beings who strive for the Dharma, are convinced by the Dharma, desire the Dharma, uphold the Dharma and uphold the Expanded Texts (Skt. *vaipulya*), that one should give instruction in and teach this *samādhi*, and, being empowered by the empowerment (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*) of the *Tathāgatas*, copy it well as a big book, seal it with the seal (Skt. *mudrā*) of the *Tathāgatas*, and store it away.'

[24B] 'What then, Bhadrapāla, is the seal of the *Tathāgatas*? It is that all dharmas are without agency, without activity, not brought about, unattached, beyond objectification, emptiness, signless, wishless, markless, without duality, without action, baseless, incalculable, undifferentiated, ungraspable, unrejectable, transient, that all dharmas are impermanent, uninterrupted, exhausted of causes, exhausted of suffering, exhausted of existing things, unborn, unceasing, without duration, indestructible, without a path, without the

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1 Only the first two sections of this chapter appear in the Chinese versions (see Concordance).

2 Tib. *gzhag par bya*; no equivalent in T.418 (in which 24A is much compressed), but T.416 (897a26) has 'securely place it in a store-house (藏).' Cf. below (897b4): 'securely place it in a casket (匣 藏).'

3 Tib. *brtag pa mang ba* (all witnesses, except that N has scribal error *mang po*, which L reproduces); cf. 6G and n. 6.5.

fruit of a path, not mistaken by all the Holy Ones, rejected by all fools, forsaken by the ignorant, embraced by the wise--this, Bhadrapāla, is the seal of all the *Tathāgatas*, the seal which the *Tathāgatas* affix to that which has been uttered by *Tathāgatas*.'

[24C] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, sons or daughters of good family who strive for awakening, who might wish in the last time and the last age to be instructed in this *samādhi* should, when they have been instructed in it and have memorised it, proclaim it in full to others also.'

'In that regard, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas *bodhisattvas* will apply themselves at the very least to hearing this *samādhi*, to say nothing of receiving instruction in it and memorising it. What are the four? A fully purified original resolve; the fact of having made an initial vow; conviction as to omniscient cognition; and the acceptance of all the rules of Dharma after considering how one might preserve and teach this treasure of the precious Dharma which has been realised by *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones over many hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *kalpas*. If, Bhadrapāla, they possess these four dharmas they will apply themselves to hearing, accepting and keeping this *bodhisattvas*' *samādhi*.'

[24D] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas *bodhisattvas* will apply themselves to the quest for this *samādhi*, even if it is only to copy it. What are the four? They are: concentration on the Buddha; skill in the repeated calling to mind of the Dharma; concentration on the accurate definition (Skt. *pariccheda*) of the objective bases of all dharmas [?]; and skill in the elimination of all signs. If, Bhadrapāla, they possess those four dharmas, *bodhisattvas* will apply themselves to the quest for this *samādhi*, even if it is only to copy it.'

[24F] 'In that regard, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas *bodhisattvas* are to be known as those who apply themselves to the quest for this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are as follows: by the knowledge which accurately defines all dharmas as being in essence ungraspable are *bodhisattvas* to be known as those who apply themselves to this *samādhi*. By skill in the meditational cultivation (Skt. *vibhāvanā*) which has as its object the body of the Buddha are *bodhisattvas* to be known as those who apply themselves to this *samādhi*. By

concentration which, from among all [possible] objects, takes the Buddha as its object [?][4] are *bodhisattvas* to be known as those who apply themselves to this *samādhi*. By skill in the conviction that all dharmas are devoid of existents are *bodhisattvas* to be known as those who apply themselves to this *samādhi*. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* are to be known as those who apply themselves to the quest for this *samādhi*.

[24F] 'Bhadrapāla, in the last time, the last age, when the True Dharma is in disorder in the last five centuries, if any should apply themselves to the quest for this *samādhi* for the welfare of all beings and out of compassion for all beings, and should conceive the thought: "How may this *samādhi* become widespread, great, and enduring?", then for those sons of good family much merit will be produced, and it would be impossible to know the limits of that mass of merit, apart from it being understood that that mass of merit is directed towards omniscience.'

'That mass of merit of theirs will be speedily directed towards omniscience through the power of their vows, and they shall all fulfil everything in accordance with their resolve, they shall all be delivered in accordance with their distinctive course of conduct and in accordance with their resources, except for those who are endowed with a great stock of wholesome potentialities, and are adept at abiding in selflessness [?], who have been armed with the great armour through immeasurable, incalculable and inconceivable *kalpas*, or longer even than that.'

[24G] 'Bhadrapāla, in the last time, the last age, when the great terror occurs and the True Dharma is destroyed, sons or daughters of good family who have set out in the Bodhisattvayāna, who wish to obtain the perfection of all dharmas and the perfection of omniscient cognition, and who wish to bring about the purification of their wholesome potentialities should strive to copy, give instruction in, and memorise this *samādhi*, and proclaim it in full to others. Why is that? The cognition of the knowledge of all dharmas in all their aspects, Bhadrapāla, is condensed within this *samādhi*.'

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4 The sense is not clear, but I take this to imply a sustained mental operation which subsumes all possible objects of apprehension under one object, i.e. the Buddha--or, more plainly, sees everything as the Buddha. Cf. 24H and n. 24.5.

[24H] 'It is this, the understanding that all dharmas are essentially devoid of existents through the realisation of skillfulness in the calling to mind of the Buddha, which is the calling to mind of the Buddha. *Bodhisattvas* who establish themselves in it firmly believe that all objectifications are the objectification of the Buddha [?].[5] They reduce all objectifications ultimately to the *Tathāgata*. They know that all the subjects of objectification are essentially void. They take the *Tathāgatas* as their object and concentrate on them in such a way that their vision of the *Tathāgatas* is purified; established in that they will not fail to have *Tathāgatas* manifesting themselves in any quarter whatsoever; and they purify their vision of the *Tathāgatas* in all quarters. Once they have purified their vision of the *Tathāgatas*, then if they objectify in this very world-system they will with little difficulty see those *Tathāgatas* face to face right here. Through being infinite [?] their direct vision of the *Tathāgatas* will be purified, and infinite *Tathāgatas* will appear to their sight.'

[24I] 'Because the essence of all objects is ungraspable, it is not the case that one object grasps all objects, nor is it the case that all objects grasp one object. If the essence of all dharmas is observed, they are established in the absence of existents on account of their being utterly calm.'

'Bhadrapāla, those that are established therein become those whose vision of all the *Tathāgatas* is purified, yet even after it is purified they do not misconceive it or have any conceptual proliferation (Skt. *prapañca*) about it; they will perfect the cultivation of this *samādhi* of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present. They will also establish themselves in the perfection of all the dharmas conducive to awakening.'

[24J] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

[1] 'Whatever has been uttered by the *Tathāgata*
Is a gate to cognition in accordance with reality;
So, sons of the Lord of the World, the Teacher,

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5 The translation of this entire section should be regarded as tentative. The chief difficulty lies in knowing whether *dmigs pa*, used six times in this section, stands for *upalambha*, *ālambaṇa*, or something else. The same holds true for 24I, and for the several occurrences of *dmigs pa* in the verses of 24J.

Apply your minds to this *samādhi.*

[2] Those who call to mind the Buddha as object
Will see many objects of apprehension [?];
To them this peaceful *samādhi*, difficult to see,
Shall also appear in the last time.

[3] The wise who do not rest on any dharmas
And who apply their minds to the welfare of beings
Shall exert themselves for this *samādhi*
In the last age, the time of great terror.

[4] Those who apply themselves constantly, and firmly
Direct their mindfulness to this dharma, difficult to see,
For the benefit and support of beings,
Into their hands shall this *samādhi* pass.

[5] They who constantly apply to the Buddha as object
Their mindfulness, their intelligence and their discernment,
Applying themselves to self-discipline (Skt. *yoga*)
and independent of others,
They shall be established in this great *samādhi.*

[6] Abiding in the station difficult to see, out of altruism,
Averse to all the world,
Wise, and not desiring any existences,
They apply themselves to this great *samādhi.*

[7] They who desire awakening and are compassionate, out of concern,
Understand the body of the *Tathāgatas*;
And make the vow for the peaceful Dharma,
They apply themselves steadfastly to this *samādhi.*

[8] Peaceable, not quarrelsome or disputatious,
Seeking the Dharma praised by the *Sugata*,
Continuing always to take the Buddha as their object,

They apply themselves constantly to this *samādhi.*

[9] They who in that last evil time
Apply themselves to this *samādhi*
And abide in infinite good qualities of conduct,
Their qualities are known to the Lord of the World.

[10] They who know the dharmas
which are not subject to the noxious influences,
Who know the noxious influences thoroughly as well,
And who practise non-discrimination and abide in sameness,
Apply themselves constantly to this *samādhi.*

[11] They who even while knowing
that the dharmas of the *Sugata* are infinite,
Make vows everywhere
And steadfastly abide in omniscient cognition,
For them is this peaceful *samādhi* taught.

[12] They who know the dharmas which are essentially empty,
Markless and beyond marks,
Free of both defilement and purity,
They see infinite *Sugatas.*

[13] They who, even when applying themselves to infinite objects,
Know that all objects are emptiness,
And are free of misconception after seeing things difficult to see,
They see infinite *Sugatas.*

[14] They who see what is beneficial and whose minds are also pure,
Who are free of defilement and abide in the station of peace,
Who teach the Dharma which is spotless and worth hearing [?],
For them has this peaceful *samādhi* been expounded.

[15] The sons of the *Sugata*, whose torments are removed,
For whom the truth is undistorted, who are free of doubts,

Who cultivate friendliness for the benefit of beings,
For them has this precious message been expounded.

[16] They who are by their nature devoid of ignorance,
Who remove the opportunities for ignorance by their knowledge,
And who strive to apply themselves to this precious message,
For them has this peaceful *samādhi* been expounded.

[17] Established in purity, free of the defilements,
Desiring infinite cognition,
Experiencing joy in this definitive meaning (Skt. *nītārtha*),
For them has this peaceful emancipation been expounded.

[18] They who are set free from all fetters,
Steadfast, compassionate towards all beings,
Free of malice, and holding to the joy of the way of peace,
For them has this *samādhi* been proclaimed.'

Chapter Twenty-four of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE[1]

[25A] 'Bhadrapāla, these four dharmas lead *bodhisattvas* to obtain this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are: (1) respect for the Buddha; (2) concentration on indestructible faith; (3) respect for the Dharma and the desire to hear it; and (4) realisation of the dharmas which accord with the Dharma. It is those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, which lead *bodhisattvas* to obtain this *samādhi*.'

'Further, Bhadrapāla, there are four more dharmas which lead *bodhisattvas* to obtain this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are (1) thought which, being free of mental error, has the Buddha as its object; (2) understanding that the intrinsic nature of objects is essentially good by being free of doubt with regard to the Dharma [?]; (3) comprehension of all dharmas which are intrinsically empty, essentially empty, and utterly empty, through understanding of proficiency with regard to existing things; and (4) meditational deconstruction of existing things which are void, through understanding both proficiency in the deconstruction of apperceptions and the cognition which consists in accurate definition (Skt. *pariccheda*)[?]. It is those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, which lead *bodhisattvas* to obtain this *samādhi*.'

[25B] 'Further, Bhadrapāla, there are four more dharmas which lead *bodhisattvas* to obtain this *samādhi*. What are the four? They are: (1) the assistance of all Buddhas; (2) proficiency in keeping the True Dharma, and protecting and sheltering the True Dharma; (3) being devoted to the happiness of all beings, and having compassionate thoughts towards all beings; and (4) skill in the meditational deconstruction of the apperception of beings. It is those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, which lead *bodhisattvas* to obtain this *samādhi*.'

'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, in the last time, the last age, when in the last five hundred years the True Dharma is in great disorder, *bodhisattvas* should continue to sacrifice their persons and lives so as to accept, master and keep this *samādhi*.'

[25C] 'Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* who apply themselves to proficiency in

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1 This chapter appears only in Tibetan.

upholding all dharmas will, in order to perpetuate it, store away this treasury of precious dharmas attained by the *Tathāgatas* over infinite *koṭis* of *kalpas*, and they will also be capable of teaching, explaining, and proclaiming such a dharma as this. Bhadrapāla, since for *bodhisattvas* these opportunities for vigour exist, because of the empowering influence of vigour *bodhisattvas* undertake the vow to bring the wholesome potentialities of beings to full maturity.'

[25D] 'Bhadrapāla, those sons or daughters of good family who in the last time and the last age will store away and preserve these dharmas have set out for the benefit of all beings, the support of all beings, and the maintenance of all beings; and they will be supported by the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones. Even if those *bodhisattvas* dwell in other world-systems, the Buddhas and Lords residing in other world-systems will give them their consideration. Because they desire the Dharma, strive for the Dharma, and realise the Dharma, they shall apply themselves for the sake of this *samādhi* in the last time, the last age.'

[25E] 'Those that take up such a discourse on Dharma in the last time and the last age will be maintained by the dharmas of *bodhisattvas* and by the wealth of *bodhisattvas*. They who will remain in order to support such dharmas as these in the last time and the last age shall also quickly acquire the ten powers of a *Tathāgata*, the four assurances, the eighteen dharmas exclusive to a Buddha, and all the Buddha-dharmas.'

[25F] Then at that time the Lord uttered these verses:

[1] 'Those who are steadfast, care for the Dharma,
And remain in order to uphold the True Dharma
When the last age arrives,
For them this *dhāraṇī* has been expounded.

[2] They who apply themselves fearlessly
For the sake of the precious True Dharma,
And are compassionate and merciful,
They continue to uphold the Dharma also.

[3] Steadfast, vigilant, and joyful,
Bearers of the treasury of the Sage's Dharma,
For their sake the *samādhi*
Which is extolled by the Buddhas has been taught.

[4] They who are empowered
By the Buddha, the King of the Dharma, the Protector,
In the last age, the terrible time,
They will uphold this,
which is the true nature of things (Skt. *dharmatā*).

[5] Those mindful ones who know
That by their intrinsic nature
Dharmas are utterly empty
and free from proliferation (Skt. *prapañca*),
They will also uphold the Dharma.

[6] They who know how certainly true
Are the inconceivable verses from this,
[Which expresses] the intrinsic nature of all dharmas,
They will also uphold the Dharma.

[7] They who are established in the knowledge of extinction,
And who abide also in the unborn,
Controlled in thought and modest,
They will also uphold the Dharma.

[8] They who have set out on the supreme path
Of bliss, the noble path,
With the empowering influence of vigour,
They continue to uphold the Dharma.

[9] They who understand the true nature of things
And the meaning of suchness and non-discrimination [?],
For them there is no proliferation at all;

They will also uphold the Dharma.

[10] Those gentle ones who know
That all dharmas are without activity,
They shall proclaim that true nature of things
Which is nothing and is free of clinging.

[11] They who know that all dharmas
Are ungraspable and devoid of grasping,
And pure from the outset,
They abide in the sphere of Dharma.

[12] They who know thus, with regard to dharmas,
That all dharmas have no intrinsic nature,
They shall teach this, the true nature of things;
It is said to be a gateway.

[13] They who understand the true nature of things
As nameless, devoid of name,
Free of proliferation, and unborn,
They also proclaim emptiness.

[14] They who know these dharmas
To be unabiding, unmoving,
And pure like the essence of space,
For them the *samādhi* will arise.

[15] They who are devoid of apperceptions
and the discrimination of entities [?],
Who are unborn in their intrinsic nature,
And devoid of the apperception of existing things,
They shall reveal the true nature of things.

[16] That sealing is seal-less,
Being said as an allusive utterance (Skt. *saṃdhā-bhāṣa*);
They who know that to be so

Will uphold this, the true nature of things.'

Chapter Twenty-five of the *Samādhi* Enquired of by Bhadrapāla.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

[26A] 'Therefore, Bhadrapāla, sons or daughters of good family should be intent on vigilance, and acquire these dharmas; they should also exert themselves for their blessings; they should be possessed of what is appropriate; they should reject the inappropriate, and in that way it will not be difficult for them to obtain this profound dharma which is difficult to see, difficult to know, which engenders all the Buddha-dharmas and confers on one the cognition of the Self-existent Ones, the cognition which is unimpeded.'[1]

[26B] Then at that time the Lord said to the Venerable Ānanda, the Venerable Mahākāśyapa,[2] the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the Licchavi youth Ratnākara, the householder Mahāsusārthavāha, the merchant's son Guhagupta, the brahman Naladatta,[3] the *bodhisattva* Indradatta, the householder Varuṇadeva, those five hundred *bodhisattvas*, all those that had come together from the four assemblies, and the world with its *devas*, human beings and *asuras*:

[26C] 'Oh sons of good family,[4] I entrust and commit to you this treasure of the precious supreme Dharma, which I have perfected over a hundred thousand *koṭinayutas* of *kalpas*, and this *sūtra* which none of the world will believe in, which is profound, of profound significance, an exposition of the principle of the three gateways to emancipation, profound and pure, difficult to see, difficult to understand, known to the wise and the intelligent, great, excellent, and perfect in its meaning.'

'A second time I commit to you those things which are a sure foundation

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1 This section does not appear in Chinese, but sections 26B-F do, in the following order in both versions: E, B, C, D, F.

2 T.418 (919b22-23): 'The Buddha said to Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, the *bhikṣu* Ānanda, the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla, etc.'; Mahākāśyapa not mentioned. T.416 (897b20-21): 'Then the Lord said to the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, the Venerable Śāriputra, the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, the Venerable Ānanda, and the *bodhisattva* Bhadrapāla, etc.'

3 T.418 includes the *bodhisattva* Susīma, who (as usual) is not found in T.416.

4 Cf. T.416 (897b24): 'O Kāśyapa...'

for supreme and perfect awakening, so that you should also copy, hear, accept, master, keep, and read them, should expound, teach, and proclaim them in full in order to spread and magnify them. You should exert yourselves in the endeavour to cultivate them, in order to show favour to all beings. You should realise the dharmas which accord with the Dharma just as they have been taught, so that you are not the last person [to do so?].'[5]

[26D] 'Bhadrapāla,[6] if any sons or daughters of good family hear this *samādhi* and on hearing it receive instruction in, memorise, or master it, then they should listen to it, receive instruction in it, and expound it resolutely and reverently. If any teach it to others, or cause it to be read, then they too should teach it to others, and cause it to be read resolutely, in order to magnify it, so that this *samādhi* will long endure, and be widespread and great: this is my injunction to you.'

[26E] When this discourse on Dharma was expounded, incalculable and innumerable beings generated the wholesome potentialities for supreme and perfect awakening. Those *bodhisattvas* who had assembled from countless Buddha-fields, as many of them as there are sands in the Ganges, obtained this very *samādhi* and became unable to regress from supreme and perfect awakening. This Trichiliomegachiliocosm also shook in six ways;[7] the *devas* also let fall a rain of flowers from the sky; and great drums thundered without

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5 Cf. T.416 (897c2): 'You should propagate it and not allow it to be cut off,' while T.418 (919b28) has: '...recite and maintain and not forget it.' This does not elucidate the Tib. *de ci nas kyang skyes bu tha ma par ma gyur par bya'o.*

6 T.416 (897c2) has Ānanda, not Bhadrapāla; T.418 has Bhadrapāla.

7 T.416 (897b14-18) defines the six ways in which the earth shakes, but for the rest of 26E is fairly similar to the Tibetan; T.418 tells a completely different story (919b18-22):

> The Buddha said: 'Now, at the time of my expounding this *samādhi*, 1,800 *koṭis* of *devas*, *asuras*, *nāgas* and human beings have all attained the state of Stream-entering (Skt. *srota-āpatti*); 800 *bhikṣus* have all attained Arhatship; 500 *bhikṣuṇīs* have all attained Arhatship; 10,000 *bodhisattvas* have all attained this *samādhi*, and have all attained establishment in the patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are not produced; and 12,000 *bodhisattvas* are unable to regress.'

being struck.

[26F] After the Lord had spoken these words, the *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* Bhadrapāla, the *bhikṣus*, the *bodhisattvas*, and the world with its *devas*, human beings, *asuras* and *gandharvas* rejoiced, and applauded what the Lord had said.[8]

Here ends

The Holy Mahāyāna *Sūtra*

called the

Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.

[COLOPHON]

Revised, edited, and also adapted to the new terminology by the Indian master Śākyaprabha and the reviser and translator, the Venerable Ratnarakṣita.

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8 Both Chinese versions differ from the Tibetan. T.416 (897c8-14):

> Then, when the Lord had expounded this *sūtra*, the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Ānanda, and all the other great disciples besides them, together with the householders Bhadrapāla, Ratnākara, Susārthavāha, Guhagupta, Indradatta [?], Varuṇadeva, and the band of 500 *upāsakas*, together with the band of *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* who had come from other Buddha-fields in the ten quarters, up to and including all the *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas* [?], human and non-human beings, when they heard the *Tathāgata*'s exposition they all greatly rejoiced, and accepting the teaching they put it into practice.

T.418 (919c1-4):

> When the Buddha had expounded the *sūtra*, Bhadrapāla and the *bodhisattvas*, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, the *bhikṣu* Ānanda, the *devas*, *asuras*, *nāgas*, and human beings all rejoiced greatly, came forward to make obeisance to the Lord, and departed.

APPENDIX A

SOME REMARKS ON THE TEXTUAL HISTORY

OF THE

PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-SAṂMUKHĀVASTHITA-

SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA

IN CHINA

I. INTRODUCTORY

This appendix will be devoted to the task of discussing the various Chinese translations of the *PraS* and attempting to elucidate the relationships between them. Any readers in search of definite and unequivocal answers to the questions raised in this area should be warned at the outset of their impending disappointment; for although the ground has already been well-trodden by others (often this has served merely to obscure the trail), and the effort expended by me in my turn has not been inconsiderable, the results finally obtained are sadly and disproportionately meagre. I hope nonetheless to have laid one or two ghosts to rest.

The *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* contains four Chinese translations of the *PraS* in Vol. XIV (the *Mahāsaṃnipāta*). They are, in the order in which they will be dealt with in this discussion:

T.416 *Dafangdeng daji-jing xianhu-fen* 大方等大集經賢護分 (in five *juan*).

T.419 *Bapo pusa jing* 拔陂菩薩經 (in one *juan*).

T.418 *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經(in three *juan*).

T.417 *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經(in one *juan*).

These four published Chinese versions of the *PraS* will constitute the raw material of the following discussion. Their status may be evaluated in the light of both internal evidence--their style, terminology, etc.--and the information concerning them furnished by the Chinese scripture-catalogues, or *jinglu* 經錄.

Although fifteen scripture-catalogues have come down to us, not all of them are of equal value, since some are little more than copies of their predecessors.[1] Seven have been consulted here; they are listed below in chronological order by the abbreviated titles with which, in conformity with Japanese scholarly usage, they are referred to throughout this study.

1. *Sengyou lu* = T.2145: *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, compiled around 502-515 by Sengyou 僧祐(445-518) in Jianye.
2. *Fajing lu* = T.2146: *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄, compiled 593 by Fajing 法經 *et al.* at the Daxingshan-si in Chang'an.

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1 For a recent discussion of the Chinese catalogues and some of the problems involved in their use, see Hirakawa 1978.

3. *Sanbao ji*[2] = T.2034: *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, compiled 597 by Fei Changfang 費長房 at the Daxingshan-si in Chang'an.

4. *Renshou lu* = T.2147: *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄, compiled 602 (3rd year of Renshou 仁壽) by a group of translators at the Daxingshan-si in Chang'an.

5. *Jingtai lu* = T.2148: *Datang dongjing dajing'ai-si yiqie jinglun mulu* 大唐東京大敬愛寺一切經論目錄, or simply *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄, compiled 666 by Jingtai 靜泰 in Luoyang.

6. *Dazhou lu* = T.2153: *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄, compiled 695 by Mingquan 明佺 *et al.* in Chang'an.

7. *Kaiyuan lu* = T.2154: *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, compiled 730 by Zhisheng 智昇 in Chang'an.

Two other catalogues, now lost, also come into the picture, since they are cited extensively in the *Sengyou lu* and elsewhere. They are:

1. *Dao'an lu* = *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄, compiled by Dao'an 道安 in 374. Sengyou's catalogue is based in large part on the *Dao'an lu*.[3]

2. *Jiu-lu* = Opinions vary as to the identity of the *Jiu-lu* 舊錄 (literally, the 'Old Catalogue'), referred to in the *Sengyou lu* and elsewhere. Hayashiya (1940: 805) believes that Sengyou's *Jiu-lu* was the catalogue completed by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 in 419, but this cannot be wholly true, since the *Jiu-lu* is cited for works translated after 419. Tokiwa (1939: 37-40) also discusses the evidence, and advances the conclusion that *Jiu-lu* designated a number of different catalogues, namely the *Dao'an lu* (see above), the *Zhi*

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[2] Note that this is the only catalogue that does not appear in Vol. LV of the *Taishō*. It is to be found in Vol. XLIX instead.

[3] On Dao'an (314-385) himself, see Zürcher 1959: 185-204; Tang Yongtong 1938: 187-228. As for Dao'an's catalogue, the most comprehensive study is to be found in Hayashiya 1940: 333ff.

Mindu lu 支敏度錄 (compiled *circa* 330), the *Nie Daozhen lu* 聶道真錄(early 4th century), the *Zhu Daozu lu* 竺道祖錄, and possibly the *Zhu Shixing han-lu* 朱士行漢錄 (compiled under the Wei, 220-264). In Tokiwa's opinion, however, the term *Jiu-lu* most often referred to Zhu Daozu's catalogue. As must be evident, the whole question is far too complicated to be resolved here.

The use of the Chinese scripture-catalogues is fraught with pitfalls. Despite their unique value as a source for the literary history of Chinese Buddhism, the information the *jinglu* contain is often so confused and contradictory that it complicates already complex problems to an absurd degree. In the following discussion I shall attempt to present only the broad outlines of the matter, although at times it is impossible to avoid examining the evidence in detail. Any reader interested in a complete documentation of the information in the *jinglu* relating to the various Chinese versions of the *PraS* is advised to refer to the comprehensive study undertaken by Hayashiya (1945: 544-578).

Taking the line of least resistance, we shall first consider those two translations of the *PraS* which present no major problems, either because everything is known about them (T.416) or because next to nothing is known about them (T.419). We shall then turn to T.418 (with which our difficulties begin in earnest) and T.417 (which, I believe, poses a problem more apparent than real). Finally, after a few minor matters have been cleared up, some concluding remarks concerning the textual history of the *PraS* may be attempted.

II. THE *DAFANGDENG DAJI-JING XIANHU-FEN* (T.416)

T.416, the *Dafangdeng daji-jing xianhu-fen* (referred to henceforth as the *Xianhu jing*, for which title see below), is the only Chinese version of the *PraS* concerning which we know definitely when, where, and by whom it was translated. The first catalogue in which it appears, the *Sanbao ji*, was published just two years after the translation was made, and since its compiler, Fei Changfang, was one of the translator's colleagues, there is no likelihood of error in his listing of the *Xianhu jing* among the works of Jñānagupta--see *Sanbao ji* 103b20-104c6, where we also find a biographical sketch of the translator which forms the basis of his biography in Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* II.[4]

Jñānagupta (from the Chinese Shenajueduo 闍那崛多 ; the reconstruction of the first element of the name, however, is problematical) was born around 528 in Puruṣapura, the capital of Gandhāra. Beginning his novitiate at the age of seven, he was ordained as a *bhikṣu* when he was 24. Shortly afterwards he set out with nine companions to make the perilous overland journey from India to China. The little group of travellers, much reduced, eventually arrived in Chang'an during the first years of the Northern Zhou 北周 dynasty (c. 558). After working in the capital for some time Jñānagupta spent several years in Yizhou 益州 before the persecution of Buddhism during the Jiande 建德 period (572-578) forced him to leave China. On the way back to India he was detained in the territory of the Tujue 突厥, where he lived for the next ten years, carrying on his work as best he could. There he was discovered by a group of Chinese *bhikṣus* who had left China under the Northern Qi 北齊 in 575 on an expedition into Central Asia and beyond to collect scriptures, and who were now on their way home. Greatly impressed by Jñānagupta's abilities, they were for some reason unable to persuade him to accompany them back to Chang'an, which they finally reached in the year 581. The Sui Dynasty had just come to power, and was eager to promote Buddhism, partly as an instrument of political consolidation. A translation bureau of thirty or so *bhikṣus* and scholars was set up at the Daxingshan-si 大興善寺 under the direction of Narendrayaśas (516-589), but this man appears to have been unequal to the appointment, and the authorities

4 For a translation of this biography, see Chavannes 1905.

cast about for a more capable replacement. The *bhikṣus* who had met Jñānagupta among the Tujue had reported his whereabouts, and so in 585 the Sui Emperor summoned the Gandhāran master back to Chang'an, where he took over the directorship of the Daxingshan-si translation bureau. There he laboured for almost twenty years, assisted by the Indian *bhikṣu* Dharmagupta (who arrived in the Chinese capital in 590) and many others. Jñānagupta is credited with having translated 37 works totalling 176 *juan*; these include a translation of the *Buddhacarita* and a revision of Kumārajīva's version of the *SP*. Around the year 605 the ageing master became involved in political trouble and was exiled to South China, where he died soon after, possibly in the year 606. He was 78 at the time of his death.

Among the 31 works which Jñānagupta had translated by the time the *Sanbao ji* was compiled, Fei Changfang lists the *Xianhu jing* as sixth (103c1):

> *Xianhu pusa jing* 賢護菩薩經 [=*Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra*] in six *juan*; begun in the 12th month of the 14th year of Kaihuang 開皇 [594; but the 12th month would be early 595 by the Western calendar], completed in the 2nd month of the 15th year [595]; taken down in writing by the *śramaṇa* Mingfen 明芬 [K: Langfen 郎芬] and others.

All subsequent catalogues have accepted this attribution as authoritative, although some of them have added a little to the meagre stock of information; for example, the *Jingtai lu* has:

> *Daji xianhu pusa jing* 大集賢護菩薩經 [=*Mahā-saṃnipāta-bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-sūtra*] in five *juan* or in six *juan*; 93 pages; translated during the Kaihuang years under the Sui, at the Daxingshan-si, by Jñānagupta and [Dharma-]Gupta; commissioned by the Imperial Court.

While the *Dazhou lu* (384c9-11) merely repeats information already given in the *Sanbao ji* and the *Jingtai lu*, the *Kaiyuan lu*, regarded as the most reliable catalogue by later editors of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, carries the following entry among the works of Jñānagupta (548b14-15):

> *Dafangdeng daji xianhu-jing* 大方等大集賢護經 [=*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsaṃnipāta-bhadrapāla-sūtra*] in five *juan* or in six *juan*; entitled *Dafangdeng daji-jing xianhu-fen* 大方等大集經賢護分 [=*Mahāvaipulya-mahā-saṃnipāta-sūtra-bhadrapāla-parivarta*]; also called the *Xianhu pusa jing*; the seventh

> translation;[5] same text as the *Banzhou sanmei jing*; begun in the 12th month of the 14th year of Kaihuang, completed in the 2nd month of the 15th year; taken down in writing by the *śramaṇa* Mingfen and others.

Elsewhere (681c10-11) the *Kaiyuan lu* gives the same titles for the text, adding that it is also known simply as the *Xianhu jing* [=*Bhadrapāla-sūtra*], and that it is 82 pages long.

Before we turn to the matter of the page count, a quick examination of T.416 will show that it is the same text as the *Xianhu jing* described above, in terms of the titles used for it, the number of *juan* it runs to, and the translator(s) to whom it is ascribed:

1. The *Taishō* has adopted the title as given by the Korean edition (K), viz. *Dafangdeng daji-jing xianhu-fen*, which is the second title to be listed by the *Kaiyuan lu*; but the 'Three Editions' (SYM) printed the text under the *Kaiyuan lu*'s first title, namely, *Dafangdeng daji xianhu jing*. This situation is repeated at the beginning of each *juan*, except that at the beginning of *juan* 4 and 5 K has *Dasheng* 大乘 (=*Mahāyāna*) instead of *Dafangdeng* (=*Mahāvaipulya*). At the end of each *juan* K always gives the title of the text as *Xianhu pusa suo-wen jing* 賢護菩薩所問經 (= *Bhadrapāla-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā-sūtra*),[6] while SYM has *Dafangdeng daji(-jing) xianhu jing* at the end of *juan* 1 and 3, and *Dafangdeng daji(-jing) xianhu pusa suo-wen jing* at the end of *juan* 2, 4 & 5. With the titles of chapters the situation is less regular, but K usually has *Daji-jing xianhu-fen* while SYM prefixes this with *Dafangdeng.*
2. T.416 has five *juan* in all, cf. the catalogues cited above.
3. At the beginning of each *juan* K describes the text as 'translated under the Sui by the Indian Tripiṭaka[-master] Jñānagupta'; SYM, however, adds 'with Gupta [i.e. Dharmagupta] and others'.

Turning now to the question of page count, it will have been noted that while the *Jingtai lu* gave the number of pages for the *Xianhu jing* as 93, the *Kaiyuan lu* gave it as 82. This discrepancy is to be explained by the fact that

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5 This is in fact not the case, and can be traced back to the practice of Fei Changfang and others of ascribing extra translations to earlier translators on the flimsiest of grounds. In this study all such entries are henceforth ignored.

6 Cf. the title found at the end of each chapter in the Tibetan text: *bzang skyong gis zhus pa'i ting nge 'dzin.*

Jingtai and Zhisheng had different copies of the text at their disposal, Jingtai's copy having fewer characters per page and consequently more pages. As Hayashiya has pointed out (1945: 545), one of Zhisheng's pages is roughly equivalent to one (lateral) column of text in the *Taishō*. T.416, in fact, occupies approximately 77.5 columns, which accords fairly closely with the *Kaiyuan lu*'s 82 pages.[7]

In conclusion it is quite evident, on the basis of its length, as well as in the light of other indications, that the present T.416 is the same text as that translated by Jñānagupta and his colleagues in the early months of the year 595 at the Daxingshan-si in Chang'an. The certainty of this identification relieves us of the necessity of evaluating the internal evidence as well; but we might note just in passing that the *Xianhu jing* exhibits all the characteristics of the later Chinese Buddhist translations, e.g. the use of a highly standardised terminology, a greater degree of assurance and consistency in the treatment of formulae and clichés, and a greater fidelity to the text (even to its repetitions) than is found in the earlier translations. In fact the *Xianhu jing* represents, generally speaking, a slightly more detailed or developed version of the *PraS* than does the Tibetan rendering, if we set aside questions of the text's basic structure.

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7 Further to this see Demiéville 1924: 5. Demiéville arrives at an approximate average of 460 characters for a Tang page. Since a standard prose column in the *Taishō* usually consists of 29 lines of 16 or 17 characters each (i.e. a maximum of c. 490 characters per column), we may then expect any given text to have occupied slightly more Tang pages than it presently does *Taishō* columns. With smaller texts, however, the difference between the two figures will be negligible.

III. THE *BAPO PUSA JING* (T.419)

Like the *Xianhu jing*, the *Bapo pusa jing* (T.419) presents no problems of identification, but, unlike the *Xianhu jing*, this is mainly because there is little it can be identified with. Although its place of origin and its authorship remain as yet unknown, the text as we have it now is usually traced back to an entry in the *Sengyou lu*, in the section entitled 'Xinji An Gong guyijing lu' 新集安公古異經錄 (15b-16c), i.e. a list compiled by Sengyou of 92 texts marked in the *Dao'an lu* as being *guyijing*, 'ancient versions of *sūtras*'. As Hayashiya has pointed out (1945: 1153), and as the practice of later cataloguers confirms, this list appears to contain only translations made during the Later Han (25-220 C.E.) and Wei-Wu (220-277) periods. All the texts in the list are anonymous and one *juan* in length; and most of them were lost by Sengyou's time, or were simply not available to him. This last would also appear to be true of the item in question, since it is not followed by the words 'We still have this *sūtra*'. Sengyou's entry (15b22) runs:

> *Popituo pusa jing* 颰披陀菩薩經 [8] [= *Bhadrapāla(?)-bodhisattva-sūtra*] in one *juan*; An Gong [i.e. Dao'an] says it is from the Vaipulya class.

Thus the text to which this entry refers is established as a very early translation (before *circa* 280); it is a Mahāyāna (Vaipulya) work; and it is anonymous, which means that even Dao'an, after his usual examination of the text, was unable to assign it on stylistic grounds to any known translator. Being indebted to Dao'an for his information, and not having access to the work itself, Sengyou is unable to tell us whether or not the *Popituo pusa jing* is related to the *Banzhou sanmei jing*, i.e. to the *PraS*. Even today, despite the voice of tradition, the customary identification of the *Popituo pusa jing* with the *PraS* is, although highly likely, still by no means completely certain, for we have nothing to go on except their common affiliation with the Mahāyāna and the

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8 There is some doubt as to how the first two characters of this title were originally pronounced, since 颰 is capable of being read *fa*, *po*, or *bu*, while 披 may be pronounced *pi*, *pei*, *bi*, or *pa*. Furthermore, if Popituo is indeed a transliteration of Bhadrapāla, then something has gone amiss with it, for the characters should presumably stand in the order Po (= Bha), tuo (= dra/dda), pi (= pāla).

similarity--but not identity--of their titles. However, given the fact that the only other known *sūtra* of which Bhadrapāla is the chief figure is of relatively late date,[9] the traditional identification is in all probability correct, and should be allowed to stand.

Our first unequivocal reference to the present *Bapo pusa jing* occurs in the *Fajing lu*, in its list of Mahāyāna *sūtras* (120a24):

> *Batuo pusa jing* 跋陀菩薩經 in one *juan*; consists of the first four *pin* 品 [of the *Banzhou sanmei jing*].

Three points are to be noted here. First, the text is listed as one of three separate partial translations of the same work as the *Banzhou sanmei jing*, i.e. it is placed in context as a version of the *PraS*. Second, although it is not stated whether or not the text is extant, the description given of it--that it consists of the first four *pin*--shows that it must have been available, if not to Fajing himself, then to one of his sources.[10] Third, the title given, although it accords with the standard Chinese transliteration of Bhadra (for Bhadrapāla), has as little to do with the transliteration of that name in the text itself as the title given by Sengyou. Further, there is no indication whatsoever that the entry here in the *Fajing lu* has any connection with that in the *Sengyou lu*.

Although the work is not mentioned by the *Sanbao ji*, the *Renshou lu* has it amongst its (extant) retranslations of Mahāyāna *sūtras*; the entry (159c1-2) is substantially the same as that of the *Fajing lu*, with the exception that *Batuo* is written 拔陀. The *Jingtai lu* (193b22-23) is the first catalogue to give the title as it appears in the *Taishō* today (i.e. that which accords with the text's own transcription of Bhadrapāla), and adds one more piece of information: that the work is 13 pages long. In fact, the *Bapo pusa jing* as we have it today extends over 13.5 columns in the *Taishō*; the equivalence in this case is almost exact (cf. Hayashiya 1940: 1240).

It is only with the *Kaiyuan lu* that all the foregoing information is amalgamated, with Sengyou's text at last being equated with that which appears in the *Fajing lu*, etc. In Zhisheng's section on anonymous translations made during the Later Han we find (485b8-9):

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9 I refer to T.347, the *Dasheng xianshi jing* 大乘顯識經 (i.e. the *Bhadrapāla-śreṣṭhi-paripṛcchā-sūtra*), translated by Divākara sometime between 676 and 687.

10 On the status of the *Fajing lu* as a catalogue compiled at second hand, see Hirakawa 1978: 42-44.

> *Bapo pusa jing* in one *juan*; alternatively known as the *Babo* 拔波; the *An lu* says: *Popituo pusa jing*; An Gong says it is from the Vaipulya class; is a separate translation of the first four *pin* of the *Banzhou sanmei jing*; the fifth version.

Later (486b13) the text is established as extant, while elsewhere (681c9) its length is given as 14 pages (as opposed to Jingtai's 13).

As in the case of the *Xianhu jing*, here too there can be no doubt that the present T.419, the *Bapo pusa jing*, is identical with the text under discussion, by virtue of its title,[11] its length, and the fact that it does indeed correspond to the greater part of *pin* I-IV of the *Banzhou sanmei jing* (T.418).[12]

The style of the *Bapo pusa jing* confirms the testimony of the catalogues,

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11 All editions of the Chinese canon consulted (K, SYM, *Jisha*) publish the text under the same title, viz. *Bapo pusa jing*, but the bibliographical details they supply differ from edition to edition:

> K: 'The *Sengyou lu* says that [according to] An Gong [it is] an old scripture; it is a separate translation of the beginning of the *Banzhou sanmei jing*.'
>
> Song: 'One name is the *Babo* 拔波; [according to] An Gong [it is] an old *sūtra*-text translated by the Indo-scythian Lokakṣema under the Later Han.'
>
> Yuan and *Jisha*: 'The *Kaiyuan lu* says it is also called the *Batuo jing*; the *Sengyou lu* says that [according to] An Gong [it is] an old *sūtra*-text, translator unknown, of the Han.'
>
> Ming: 'The *Kaiyuan lu* says it is also called the *Batuo jing*; the *Sengyou lu* says that [according to] An Gong [it is] an old *sūtra*-text, translated by the Indo-scythian Tripiṭaka[-master] Lokakṣema under the Later Han.'

It is difficult to see how these mistakes could have been perpetrated by the editors of the Song, Yuan and Ming editions, for the *Kaiyuan lu* nowhere states that the text is also called the *Batuo jing*, nor is the *Bapo pusa jing* ever ascribed to Lokakṣema by Sengyou or Dao'an.

12 The correspondence is not exact: while T.419 consists only of the first six chapters of the Tibetan text, *pin* IV in T.418 actually contains both Chaps. 6 & 7 of the Tibetan (see Concordance). It should be noted here that to avoid confusion a strict distinction is maintained in this study between 'chapters', with arabic numerals (refers only to the divisions of the text as they appear in the Tib.), and *pin*, with roman numerals (refers only to the Chinese). For example, when we speak of T.419 consisting only of the first six chapters of the *PraS*, we mean that it corresponds in length to Chaps. 1-6 of the Tib.; and when we speak of Chap. 5 in T.418, we are talking about that material in T.418 which corresponds to Tib. text Chapter 5, **not** about *pin* V.

and scholars have been virtually unanimous in assigning the work to the Later Han or soon after--roughly speaking, sometime around the first half of the third century C.E.[13] The text certainly abounds in the obscurities common to early Buddhist translations, which is in part due to the vagaries of a long transmission. The present *Taishō* edition is in many places clearly corrupt, and slipshod punctuation makes the reader's task even more difficult. Yet, even given this state of affairs, the *Bapo pusa jing* frequently provides a better translation of the *PraS* than does the *BZSMJ* (T.418), since its translators were somewhat more faithful to their text.[14]

Structurally the two versions are closely related, and can be assigned to roughly the same stage in the textual history of the *PraS*, with the *Bapo pusa jing* being perhaps a little more developed than Lokakṣema's original text. There is no division into *pin*, but the *gāthās*, rendered uniformly in verse of six characters to the line, clearly mark the breaks between Chaps. 4, 5 and 6. Otherwise the text is an undifferentiated whole.

Considerations of space do not permit a full examination of the style of T.419 at this point, but close study of the text reveals some highly individual items of usage, and it is certainly to be hoped that eventually the study of early Chinese Buddhist translations will have progressed to the stage where we can discover the identity of the author(s) of the *Bapo pusa jing*.

The fact that T.419 is a partial translation, consisting only of the first six chapters of the Tib. version, may, when taken with certain other indications connected with the history of the *BZSMJ*, lead us to hypothesize an *Urtext* of the*PraS* of that extent.[15] The evidence, however, is insufficient, and it must be noted that the *Bapo pusa jing* has every appearance of being a fragment, i.e. it

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13 See e.g. Hayashiya 1940: 1240.

14 We find, for example, an attempt to render some of the many circumlocutions for Buddha (e.g. *Tathāgata*, *Sugata*, etc.), something which does not occur in the older parts of the *BZSMJ*.

15 With regard to the original form of the *PraS* and its early development, various theories have been advanced. Unfortunately they are for the most part ill-founded, being based on a chronological ordering of the three early translations as follows: T.419 > T.417 > T.418, or T.417 > T.418 > T.419. Since the actual temporal sequence of these three versions is almost certainly T.418 > T.419 > T.417, such fanciful speculations are to be discounted. See in particular Mochizuki 1946: 192-193, and for a more considered recent discussion of possible earlier strata of the text, Sueki 1989: 318-328.

has no proper ending of the usual kind, and merely concludes with the verses of Chap. 6. For a *sūtra* to close with a series of ordinary *gāthās* is a most unusual occurrence, and militates against our regarding it as a complete text.

IV. THE TWO REDACTIONS OF THE *BANZHOU SANMEI JING* IN THREE *JUAN* (T.418)

1. Preamble: The *Banzhou sanmei jing* in Three *Juan* and the *Banzhou sanmei jing* in One *Juan*.

The *Taishō* contains two texts entitled *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 (= *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*), one in three *juan* (T.418) and the other in one *juan* (T.417), both of them attributed to Lokakṣema. Exactly how these two texts are related has been a problem over which Japanese scholars have spilt much ink, to the extent that a great deal of their writing on the subject of the *PraS* has been devoted solely to this question.[16] The debate has raged back and forth, generating (as they say) more heat than light, with some scholars assigning the one-*juan* text to Lokakṣema and the three-*juan* text to Dharmarakṣa, and others--steadily gaining the upper hand--disputing this conclusion, maintaining the traditional ascription of the three-*juan* text to Lokakṣema and regarding the one-*juan* text as a later abridgement. For a useful survey of the widely varying conclusions thrown up by this controversy interested readers may refer to Fujita (1970: 229, n. 2). In my view the problem **as commonly conceived** is of relatively minor importance, and the whole debate over it has been unnecessarily prolonged.

The most cogent contribution to the discussion, as far as I am aware, was made by Sakurabe Hajime in 1975 (Sakurabe 1975a). Sakurabe was one of the few scholars to make full and proper use of a crucial fact that had already been

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16 It is not my intention to deal with the previous literature in any detail, but occasionally in the course of the discussion the theories of certain scholars will be mentioned. Although the following list lays no claim to being exhaustive--I have cited only those works to which I have been able to refer myself--the major writers on this aspect of the textual history of the *PraS* have been (in chronological order): Mochizuki (1930: 305-307), Shiio (1933: 214-220), Sakaino (1935: 883-892), Mochizuki (*BD* V: 4253), Tokiwa (1939: 495, 498), Akanuma (1939: 399-401), Mochizuki (1942: 12), Hayashiya (1945: 544-578), Mochizuki (1946: 189-193), Shikii (1963: 203-206), Hirakawa (1968: 108-114), Tsukamoto (1968: 108-109), Fujita (1970: 223, 229), Ui (1971: 507-514), Nishi (1972: 1265-1286), Shizutani (1974: 300-302), Sakurabe (1975a: 173-180; 1975b: 3-7) and Zürcher (1975: Appendix, 14-15).

pointed out in the 1930s but which a number of previous participants in the debate had altogether failed to take into account: that there are in actuality two different versions (indicating two different redactions[17]) of the *Banzhou sanmei jing* in three *juan*, viz. that which appears in the Korean edition (K) and that which is preserved in the 'Three Editions' (SYM).[18] The fact that this important aspect of the textual tradition of the *PraS* has been frequently ignored illustrates a general shortcoming of much of the previous scholarly treatment of the matter, viz. excessive concern with the testimony of the Chinese catalogues and a corresponding readiness to force the texts as we have them into the mould which that testimony suggests, rather than evaluating the texts themselves on their own merits.

In this discussion, therefore, we shall first describe the texts as we have them, and then attempt to define the relationships between them on internal grounds. Only then shall we present the evidence of the catalogues, and attempt to show how it relates to the texts. We need only note at the outset, in order to give some direction to our evaluation of matters of style, that in the catalogues translations entitled *BZSMJ* are ascribed to Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa, but not to any other translator.

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17 In this discussion the word 'redaction' is used to denote a version of a text which is substantially different from other versions of the same text by virtue of major and deliberate alterations to the wording. Mere transmissional corruptions--i.e. the errors and minor emendations that scribes might make--are not classed as **redactionally** significant: they produce different **versions**, but not redactions. As will be seen below, K and SYM do not in themselves constitute separate redactions of the *BZSMJ*.

18 The Korean edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was engraved during the years 1236-1251. Because it is in part based upon editions of the Canon which are now almost completely lost--notably the 'Khitan Edition' printed under the Liao Dynasty sometime between 1031 and 1054, and the Northern Song edition produced between 972 and 983--it includes many works which are not found elsewhere. Thus it is to this Korean edition that we owe the survival of both the shorter *BZSMJ* (now T.417) and part of one redaction of the larger *BZSMJ*.

On the history of the various editions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon see Uryūzu *et al.* 1964.

2. The Two Versions of the *Banzhou sanmei jing* in Three *Juan*: General Remarks

To begin with the larger *BZSMJ*, there are, as noted above, two versions of this text, one being that preserved in the Korean edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, which forms the base text of T.418 (= K), the other being that found in the printed editions of the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties, the readings of which can be found in the critical apparatus of T.418 (= SYM). How then do these two editions differ? First of all, even the most cursory perusal will show that K and SYM are both versions of one and the same text. As far as basic organisation--*pin* divisions and titles, sequence of sections--and content are concerned this is quite apparent. The Concordance (*Text*, pp. 225-235) and the Comparative Table of Chapters (*Text*, pp. 238-239) reveal the structure of the *BZSMJ vis-à-vis* the later Tibetan text, and this structure is common to both versions.

What differences there are between the two editions or versions may be divided into three categories:

(i) *Nidāna* : the opening paragraph of the *nidāna* (1A) is represented by one short sentence in K, but is found in its full form in SYM.

(ii) *Gāthās* : if we take the Tibetan chapter divisions as our standard,[19] we find that the *gāthās* of Chaps 4 and 5 (in the *BZSMJ* = 四事品第三) and of Chap. 6 (= the first half of 譬喻品第四) are rendered by prose in K, but by verse in SYM. For all other chapters, i.e. Chap. 7 onwards, the *gāthās* are translated into identical verse in both editions. However, the *gāthās* at the end of Chap. 3 (in the *BZSMJ* these fall at the end of 行品第二) constitute a special case.

Categories (i) and (ii) will be illustrated and discussed in detail below.

(iii) Variant Readings : A rough count discloses approximately 235 variant readings between the texts of K and SYM. This count excludes categories (i) and (ii) above; therefore, what follows applies only to the prose of K and SYM (excluding 1A) and to all the *gāthās* from Chap. 7 onwards. We shall discuss these variants first, since a consideration of their nature and distribution will delimit the problem by revealing that redactional differences proper apply only to Chaps. 1-6 of K and SYM.

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19 See n. 12 above.

3. Variant Readings Between the Two Versions

Almost all of the approximately 235 variant readings between K and SYM are of minor importance, and they usually involve no more than a single character. Several types of variant may be distinguished:[20]

(a) Use of alternative characters in transcriptions.

For examples of this see Glossary. Most transliterated proper names exhibit some variation between K and SYM, but often this involves no more than the alteration of a single character. E.g.

K has 加羅衛, SYM has 迦羅衛 (903.5)
K has 陀憐尼, SYM has 陀羅尼 (903.49)
K has泥洹, SYM has涅槃(918.21)[21]

(b) Use of legitimate alternative characters. E.g.

K has 屬累, SYM has 囑累 (908.15)

(c) Replacement of a character or compound with another of similar meaning. E.g.

K has譬若, SYM has譬如(905.12)
K has 日, SYM has 言 (906.1)
K has 汝曹, SYM has 若曹 (908.1)
K has 講受, SYM has 誦受 (909.1)

(d) Characters miscopied due to similarity of appearance. E.g.

K has 彼羅斯, SYM has 波羅斯 (903.4; SYM is correct)
K has 聞, SYM has 問 (903.18; K is correct)
K has 空, SYM has 定 (904.27; SYM is correct)
K has 疑, SYM has 凝 (904.40; both incorrect--should be 礙)
K has 比此, SYM has 比丘 (909.15; SYM is correct)
K has 第十, SYM has 第七 (911.2; SYM is correct)

(e) Characters miscopied due to similarity in pronunciation (baizi). E.g.

K has 無輩, SYM has 無背 (905.2; K is correct)
K has 德, SYM has 得 (908.14; SYM is correct)
K has 所受, SYM has 所壽 (911.36; K is correct)
K has 喜踊, SYM has 喜勇 (915.15; K is correct)

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20 Variants will be referred to as follows: 904.8 = T.418, p.904, n. 8.

21 An unusual variant: SYM generally has 泥洹 also.

(f) Characters (mostly single) inserted or omitted.

This is a difficult category to work with, since what looks like an insertion by K could equally well be an omission by SYM, and *vice versa*. Only in a few cases does this involve a change in the meaning--usually the insertions (if that is what they are) merely serve to make the text more explicit. E.g.

K has 無不解, SYM has 無不解者 (903.23)
K has 所行常至, SYM has 所行常至誠 (903.34)
K has 人夢中, SYM has 夢中 (905.6)
K has 於後, SYM has 於後世 (909.26)

(g) Inversions. E.g.

K has 今我, SYM has 我今 (907.16)
K has 久持久行, SYM has 久行久持 (909.20)
K has 骨髓, SYM has 髓骨 (909.30)
K has 妬嫉, SYM has 嫉妬 (910.8)

Since it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the appropriate category for many variants, a statistical treatment of all the variants has not been attempted. In any case it is doubtful whether such an exercise would have been useful. However, an examination of the variants reveals two important points. First, in those instances where an obvious scribal error is involved--(d) and (e)--or where the text can be checked against another translation of the *PraS* or against T.417 (see below), it is **not** the case that one of our two versions always gives the correct reading while the other is in error. Rather, K and SYM appear to be different versions of the same text which have undergone separate processes of transmission, and therefore of corruption. The second point to be noted is the minor nature of the variants classified above, most of which make no great difference to the meaning of the text (if we exclude, of course, obvious scribal errors, e.g. writing 空, 'empty', for 定, 'concentration'). This point can be illustrated by citing those variants that are the most significant, some of which do not fit into the categories above.

904.31 K: 'the eight thoughts of the practitioner of the Way' (八道家念).
SYM: 'the eight thoughts of the great person' (八大人念).
This variant (= 2G, *aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-vitarka*) appears to entail a deliberate alteration of terminology.

905.15 K: 'At this time each of them think of them. These men, without

having seen those three women...'

SYM: 'At this time the three men, all of them being in Rāja[-gṛha], think [of them]. Those men, without having seen those three women...'

Cf. the Tib. (*Text*, 3D, ll. 9ff.: *de rnams kyis de dag thos nas so sor so so la sems chags par gyur mod kyi / skyes bu de rnams kyis smad 'tshong ma de rnams mthong ba ni ma yin te*, etc.) where Rājagṛha is not mentioned at this point (cf. also T.416 & T.419, where the same applies). We are thus led to the conclusion that SYM has incorporated a scribal error, almost certainly a homoeteleuton to the phrase 'at this time the three men, all of them being in Rājagṛha, simultaneously thought...' which occurs soon after. In copying the text the scribe has returned to the wrong 'at this time' (是時), and although he subsequently realised his mistake--in the middle of writing 'Rājagṛha', it seems!--he has let it stand.

905.31 K: 'He thinks: "Where have the Buddhas come from? Where have I gone?"'

SYM: 'He thinks: "Where have the Buddhas come from? Where have they gone?"'

Tib., T.419 and T.416 all support K: SYM appears to contain a deliberate and plausible (but erroneous) emendation of the text.

906.10-15 K [5B]: 'Just as, for example, Bhadrapāla, a *bodhisattva*, a person of clear vision looks at the constellations in the middle of the night and sees the stars, their hosts numerous--in the same way, Bhadrapāla, by means of the Buddha's might *bodhisattvas* who are established in the *samādhi*, facing east, look and see many hundred Buddhas, many thousand Buddhas, many myriad Buddhas, and many hundred thousand Buddhas. Thus in all the ten quarters they see all the Buddhas.'

SYM: 'Just as, for example, Bhadrapāla, a person of clear vision looks at the constellations in the middle of the night and sees the stars, [their] hosts exceedingly numerous--in the same way, Bhadrapāla, by means of the Buddha's might *bodhisattvas* who are established in the *samādhi*, facing east, look at many hundred thousand Buddhas, many hundred myriad Buddhas, and many

hundred hundred-thousand Buddhas. Thus in all the ten quarters they see all the Buddhas.'

Because this section (5B) contains several variants I have cited it *in toto*. The first variant (906.10) is a simple erroneous insertion by K of the word *bodhisattva* (菩薩), possibly as a gloss on Bhadrapāla. It is unsupported by any other version of the *PraS*. Second, where K has 見星其衆多 'sees the stars, their hosts numerous', SYM has 見星宿甚衆多, 'sees the constellations, [their] hosts exceedingly numerous' (906.11); here K has probably omitted the 宿 and miscopied the 甚. Third (906.12), the 見 of K's 視見, 'looks and sees', is missing in SYM; this appears to be a simple omission (cf. T.417, 900a7). Lastly, the matter of the numerals cannot easily be explained; it may point to a deliberate alteration to the text by either K or SYM.

907.21 K: 'Just as, for example (譬如) ...'

SYM: 'In this way (如是) ...'

All other texts (7E) support K; appears to be a simple error on the part of SYM.

The only other passage in the *BZSMJ* which contains significant variants between K and SYM is 15L (914.3-6). The text of both editions alike is so horribly obscure that I have refrained from citing it here. In any case the manifest difficulty of the passage would make it a prime candidate for scribal confusion and error in the process of copying. It is, however, almost impossible to evaluate the variants concerned.

Now, when one considers that the few variants cited in full above constitute the most striking examples in the entire text, it must become obvious how negligible the others are. Most, if not all of them, can be seen as having crept into the text during the course of transmission over many centuries, either as deliberate or accidental scribal alterations. We must therefore conclude that all the prose of the *BZSMJ* (excluding 1A) and all the *gāthās* from Chap. 7 onwards in **both** K **and** SYM go back to the same original text of the *BZSMJ*, and that because the variant readings contained therein are almost totally **transmissional**, the only significant **redactional** differences between K and SYM lie, in fact, in the *gāthās* of Chaps. 4-6 and in the *nidāna* of Chap. 1.

Before we turn to these redactionally significant parts of the text, we

should first note one important fact about the distribution of the variants we have been discussing, viz., that approximately half of them are to be found in the first third of the text, i.e. that part of the *BZSMJ* corresponding to Chaps. 1-6 of the Tibetan version. In other words, Chaps. 1-6 of K show more deviation from SYM than do Chaps. 7-26. This has significant implications for the conclusion that we shall draw concerning the two versions of the *BZSMJ.*

4. The *Nidāna*

As far as the *nidāna* (or rather the opening paragraph of it) is concerned, the difference between K and SYM is quite striking:

K (902c27-28):

> The Buddha was in the Kalan[-dakas' Haunt], in the Mahāvana at Rājagṛha, [with a] *mahā-bhikṣu-saṅgha* of 500 persons, who had all attained arhatship; only Ānanda hadn't.

SYM (902.4):

> It was heard as follows on one occasion the Buddha was in the Bamboo Park of the Kalan[-dakas] in Rājagṛha, with a great assembly of *bhikṣus*, who were all *arhats*, their noxious influences eliminated, no longer subject to defilement, who had altogether eliminated birth-and-death and obtained mastery, whose minds were liberated, who were perspicacious in wisdom, resembling great dragons, thoroughly proficient in sacred knowledge, their duties done, their deeds performed, who had laid down the heavy burden, who had attained their own desires, had thrown off all existence, whose conduct was even, who in attaining control over their minds had crossed over to the far shore--with the sole exception of one person, the Venerable Ānanda.

Here there is a clear redactional difference between K and SYM, one that could be explained in a number of ways. It could, for instance, be merely the result of the insertion in the SYM text of the well known *śrāvaka-guṇa* formula, made without any reference to a Sanskrit original of the *PraS*. But given the fact that SYM has 'Bamboo Park' (Veṇuvana supported by Tib.) where K has only Mahāvana, and the fact that the *nidāna* of SYM does more or less tally with the *nidāna* found in T.416 and Tib., I believe we can legitimately assume that it does go back to a Sanskrit text of the *sūtra* and is not a mere formulaic amplification by a Chinese writer of the *nidāna* as it appears in K.

5. The *Gāthās*

The *gāthās* that we have to deal with here are those that stand at the end of Chaps. 3, 4, 5 and 6;[22] however, the *gāthās* of Chap. 3 will be discussed separately, since they constitute a special case. As in the Tib. text, Chaps. 1 and 2 consist entirely of prose.

First, a few general features of the *gāthās* of Chaps. 4, 5 and 6. In K these are rendered throughout **in prose**, without any attempt at a metrical treatment. Nevertheless, they are introduced in Chap. 4 by the phrase 時佛說偈而歎日 ('Then the Buddha spoke *gāthās* and exclaimed: ...'), and in Chaps. 5 and 6 by 時佛歎日 ('Then the Buddha exclaimed: ...'), and are by this means marked off from the preceding prose.[23] In SYM, on the other hand, the *gāthās* are always rendered in verse, in regular stanzas of four lines with five, six or seven characters to the line; the introductory formula is 佛爾時頌偈日 (or: 言), 'The Buddha then recited *gāthās*, saying: ...'

Turning now to the content of these *gāthās*, the main point to be noted is this: that K and SYM are clearly independent translations of an original text, and that it is not the case, as it is with the prose of the *BZSMJ*, that one version is a mere corruption or rewording of the other. This can be checked against T.416 and the Tib., but especially instructive in this regard is T.419, itself an early (approx. 3rd century) translation, which is revealed as standing somewhat nearer to K than to SYM. A few sample verses will suffice to demonstrate this. These will be cited in the usual manner by reference to their Tib. counterparts, e.g. 4Ev1 is Chap. 4, Section E, Verse 1. Note, by the way, how close the wording of T.419 often is to that of the Tib., which shows what a careful translator its author was.

4Ev1

K (906a29-b1):

> 'You should always rejoice and believe in the Buddha's Dharma. Recite the *sūtra*(s) and ponder emptiness. Do not give up vigour halfway, eliminate sleep, and for three months do not sit down in weariness.'

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22 See n. 12.

23 One peculiarity of these prose *gāthās* is the recurrence of the phrase 佛言 ('The Buddha said') in places where no other version would lead us to expect it--see e.g. 906c5, 11, 13; 907b26, c2. The same phrase often occurs in a similar fashion in the prose of the *BZSMJ*.

SYM (906.7):

'Always believe and rejoice in the Buddha's Dharma.
Accept and recite this teaching of the Way and its power (道 德 化).
With vigour practise and understand the profound Dharma.
Establish total [?] friendliness and compassion.'

T.419 (923a23-24):

'Always evince faith in the Honoured One's teaching.
Do not fear the Dharma's exposition of emptiness.
Practise with vigour, cut out sleep,
And for a full three months you should practise [read 作 for 坐 ?] walking.'

Tib.:

'Have faith in the teaching of the *Sugata*,
Do not disparage the exposition of the dharma of emptiness.
Having applied yourself with vigour and eliminated torpor,
Do not once sit down for a full three months.'

5Ev8

K (907a2-4):

'In your faith always have a compassionate heart [?]; like a thirsty person longing for a drink always have the greatest benevolence. Reject worldly things; always take pleasure in making a gift of the Dharma (經). Being pure for this reason, it will not be long before you obtain the *samādhi*.'

SYM (906.19):

'Always believe in the *samādhi*, be quick to take it up.
Discard completely the things which belong to the world.
Always delight in this *samādhi*, practise the gift of the Dharma;
Quickly obtain the pure stage of tranquil concentration.'

T.419 (923c15-16):

'Believing, bashful, evincing thoughts of love,
Altogether avoiding what the world approves,
How could you not make the gift of the Dharma to the world?
From this is obtained the stage of pure cessation (淨 止 地).'

Tib.:

'On hearing this *samādhi*, experience joy,
And discard all the various spells of the world;
Be quick to have faith, and give the gift of the Dharma;
That way you shall attain this stage of purity and calm.'

6Jv4

K (907b28-c1):

'These people, who do not keep morality, abide in arrogance.

Increasingly, other people hear their words and believe in them. This is to destroy the Buddha's Dharma.'

SYM (907.18):

'Violating morality, consorting with bad friends,
Firmly fixed in their own arrogance,
They each of them converse together, saying:
"This *sūtra* is not the word of the Buddha."'

T.419 (924b7-8):

'Lapsed into immorality, possessed of bad dharmas,
Full of self-approval, and firmly fixed in stupidity,
They lead each other on [?], claiming they can be saved,
And dare to destroy the Victor's teaching.'

Tib.:

'Immoral, evil in nature,
Firmly fixed in pride and egoism,
When they have gathered together amongst themselves,
They will laugh at the *Jina*'s teaching.'

6Jv10

K (907c2-5):

'The Buddha said: There are those who believe in this *samādhi*. These people in former lives have seen past Buddhas. Precisely for this reason I expound this *samādhi* to these believers. These people always protect the Buddha's Dharma.'

SYM (907.18):

'[To say] these words don't really exist,
This is to slander the Buddha.
There are those who delight in the Dharma of the Way (道 法);
It is just for them that I therefore expound it.'

T.419 (924b11-12):

'There are those who have been able to see the Great Heroes,
the Honoured Ones,
Emitting immeasurable light over the Triple World;
This message emerges for the sake of these,
They are all those who uphold the study of the Dharma.'

Tib.:

'Those who have seen the Great Heroes,
The Lords of the World, the Light-bringers--
For their sake it has been expounded;
May they also take up the Dharma.'

As with the differences in content exemplified above, the order in which the verses are presented in K and SYM also furnishes us with indications of an

independent textual origin:

(a) In Chap. 4, where Tib. has 12 *gāthās*, T.416 and SYM have all 12 in the same order as the Tib., but K and T.419 lack Verse 3.

(b) In Chap. 5, where Tib. has eight *gāthās*, T.416, T.419 and SYM have all eight in the same order as the Tib., but K transposes Verses 6 and 7.

(c) In Chap. 6 there are no differences in arrangement between K and SYM.

It is clear then, from the above evidence, that in K and SYM the *gāthās* of Chaps. 4, 5 and 6 go back to two separate translations of the *PraS* which were made from discrete Indic originals (in either written or memorised form); the same holds good in all probability for the opening section of the *nidāna* (1A).

6. The Two Redactions

We may now summarise our findings so far. We have two distinct versions or editions of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan*, K and SYM. From Chap. 7 onwards, K and SYM are virtually identical, but in the portion of text corresponding to Chaps. 1-6 of the Tib. version we have noted significant differences. Not only does the prose of K 1-6 show a greater degree of transmissional deviation from its counterpart in SYM, but the opening section of the *nidāna* and the *gāthās* of these chapters (excluding those of Chap. 3) are clear proof of an independent textual tradition. In view of this we are justified in designating K 1-6 as a separate redaction of the *BZSMJ*. If we call this Redaction A, then SYM 1-26 may be termed Redaction B. Chaps. 7-26 in K, being practically identical with Chaps. 7-26 in SYM, must also be assigned to Redaction B; i.e.

Edition K of the large *BZSMJ* consists of A 1-6 and B 7-26.

Edition SYM of the large *BZSMJ* consists of B 1-26.

To explain this state of affairs, the following hypothesis presents itself:

(a) Lokakṣema translates a complete version of the *PraS* (i.e. with 16 *pin*) with the customary (for him) shortened *nidāna* and prose rendition of the *gāthās*.[24] This original translation is Redaction A.

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24 Here, for the sake of convenience, I am anticipating the conclusion that remains to be drawn concerning the authorship of Redaction A. On the abbreviated *nidāna* and prose *gāthās* as characteristic of Lokakṣema's style, see Zürcher 1975: II, *passim*.

(b1) A later translator, working from a different Indic text, redoes the *nidāna*, retranslates the *gāthās*, but leaves the prose of Redaction A virtually unchanged, thereby producing Redaction B. **Or**:

(b2) A later translator, working from a different Indic text, makes a completely new translation of the *PraS* (which we might call 'X'). Subsequently the *gāthās* and *nidāna* of this translation are conflated with the prose of Redaction A. The resulting conflated text is Redaction B.

(c) B becomes the standard version of the large *BZSMJ* in China, and is printed in the standard editions of the Chinese Canon (= SYM).

(d) At some stage, either at the redaction of the Korean edition of the Canon or--more probably--on the occasion of some earlier edition, a version of the *BZSMJ* is produced which combines Chaps. 1-6 of A with Chaps. 7-26 of B, the result being what we know as K.

Another hypothesis which clearly demands consideration, in that it is suggested by T.419 (consists only of Chaps. 1-6) and would explain why the Korean editors or their forerunners had **only** Chaps. 1-6 of A at their disposal, is that Lokakṣema's original translation did in fact contain only the first six chapters. Can it after all be a mere co-incidence that both T.419 and Redaction A end at the same point? What militates against this hypothesis is the homogeneity of the prose of both redactions of the *BZSMJ*, which indicates that Chaps. 1-6 and Chaps. 7-26 are, so far as their **prose** is concerned, the work of the same person or persons. Since this is so, either: the translator who made the later complete version of the *PraS* (our X) translated Chaps. 7-26 in the style of Lokakṣema and joined them to the earlier shorter version A, while at the same time completely replacing A's *gāthās* and *nidāna* (this seems unlikely to me); or: the prose of Chaps. 1-26 is in its entirety the work of the later translator, and all we have of A is the short *nidāna* and the prose *gāthās*, which some later hand has inserted into X (even less likely). Therefore I believe that this hypothesis, which postulates a Chap. 1-6 *Urtext* for the *PraS*, is to be set aside, although such possibilities cannot altogether be left out of account.

The only way in which we can approach a resolution of the difficulties raised above is to examine the style of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan*, with a view to determining the authorship of the text.

Before we do this, however, we must examine the *gāthās* of Chap. 3 (3O). In my view we have here an anomaly which can best be explained as the result of textual conflation, because these two *gāthās*, in verse of five characters

to the line and introduced by the formula characteristic of SYM--佛爾時頌偈曰 (SYM: 言)--are found in both SYM and K. In content they correspond both to 3Ov3-4 of the Tib. text, and to part of 3N, the prose section which contains the same subject matter as the verses of 3O but which appears **only in the Chinese versions**. As far as I can see, these verses are best accounted for as follows:

(a) The original text of the *PraS* contained only the prose section 3N, which followed directly after 3L, and was, as its content suggests, a continuation of the reflection of the *bodhisattvas* who practise the *samādhi*. It had no verses at this point. This original state of the text is reflected both by T.419 and by T.416: these two versions do not have 3O (see Concordance). When the *BZSMJ* (Redaction A) was first translated by Lokakṣema it too had only 3N, and did not have 3O.

(b) At some stage in the history of the Sanskrit text this prose section (3N) was converted into verse (3O). Perhaps this happened to the latter half of 3N (= 3Ov4-5) first. The creator of Redaction B found these two verses in his Sanskrit or Indic text and inserted them into the *BZSMJ* alongside the prose version of the same material (which he would of course have removed had it been introduced by the formula which precedes A's prose *gāthās*).

(c) By the time the Tibetan translation was made, the prose of 3N had been totally transformed into the verse of 3O, and section 3M had also been incorporated. *Pādas* c and d of 3Ov2, which have no counterpart in any version of 3N, had also been inserted to make up the verses.

(d) The person responsible for the version of the *BZSMJ* that we now designate as K, noticing some verses in B which were not represented by prose *gāthās* in A, inserted them into the earlier text for the sake of completeness.

Confirmation of the fact that 3O was not originally part of A comes not only from the metrical form of the *gāthās* and their opening formula, but also from one item of the translation itself.[25] 3N (prose) of the *BZSMJ* contains the

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[25] One should note also that the sentence which stands at the beginning of 4A in the Tib. (*bzang skyong / ting nge 'dzin 'di la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' de'i ye shes ni de lta bu yin no //*) stands at the end of 3N in all Chinese versions. The versification of 3N has forced this sentence to the beginning of the next chapter in later versions of the *PraS* such as the one which served the

sentence 是法無可樂者 ('These dharmas lack anything enjoyable'), but the corresponding sentence in 3O (verse) is rendered 是法無堅固 ('These dharmas are without firmness'). The sentence, whether prose or verse, clearly relates to the Tib. of 3Ov4: *chos 'di dag snying po med*, 'these dharmas are insubstantial', rendering the Sanskrit *asārakā ime dharmā* (see n. 3.31). Cf. also T.419 (prose only): 是法無堅 ('These dharmas are without firmness'), and T.416 (prose only): 諸法不眞 ('Dharmas are unreal'). Even though it is not clear why the translator of the *BZSMJ* rendered the relevant sentence in 3N in the way he did (see n. 3.25), it is nevertheless most unlikely that the same person would have translated the same sentence in 3O in such a different manner. Therefore we are liable to regard 3N and 3O, although common to both versions of the *BZSMJ*, as the work of two different translators. 3O is thus to be ascribed to Redaction B.[26]

Tibetans as their exemplar.

[26] For a detailed study of the content of the whole passage 3M-O and its echoes in other texts, see Sakurabe 1981.

V. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *BANZHOU SANMEI JING* IN THREE *JUAN*

1. Introductory

In order to evaluate the hypothesis advanced above concerning the origin of two redactions of the *BZSMJ* we must now turn to an examination of the style of the text, and ask ourselves the question, does the *BZSMJ*, either in whole or in part, exhibit the stylistic characteristics of Lokakṣema's work? If our hypothesis is correct, then we would expect the prose of both redactions to bear the mark of Lokakṣema's hand, because, given the similarity of Chaps. 1-6 of both Redactions A and B, I believe we can extrapolate that even though we do not possess Chaps. 7-26 of A, they would in any case have been virtually identical (as far as the prose is concerned) to Chaps. 7-26 of B.[27] Further, since in terms of our hypothesis the production of B entailed little more than replacing the prose *gāthās* of A and extending the *nidāna*,[28] we might expect to find in the *gāthās* of B stylistic elements which are not characteristic of Lokakṣema's work.

In the authentication of any translation attributed to Lokakṣema the touchstone for the operation must be his rendering of the *Aṣṭa*, the *Daoxing banruo jing* (T.224; hereafter *DXJ*), since it is the only text that can be regarded with certainty as a genuine product of his translation-work. In the following pages I present a comparison of selected items of terminology common to both the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ*. Both translated and transliterated terms will be discussed. References to the text of the *DXJ* are given in parentheses after each item; references to the *BZSMJ* are not given, readers being advised instead to refer to the Glossary and then to the Concordance if they wish to verify the

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27 We have already noted the stylistic homogeneity of the prose of the *BZSMJ*. In the following survey an attempt is made to isolate any stylistic discrepancies between the prose of A and that of B, but there are virtually none. Occasionally, however, certain transcriptions found in the *BZSMJ* assume a more 'modern' form in B.

28 I am assuming, for the sake of simplicity, that the *nidāna* and the *gāthās* were altered at the same time, even though this may not have been the case.

occurrence of a particular term. It should be noted that when an equivalent is described as identical in both texts there may in fact be minor differences in the choice of characters used to write it in each; such orthographical variations are of negligible importance for our present purposes.

2. The Terminology of the *Banzhou sanmei jing* and the *Daoxing banruo jing* Compared

akaniṣṭha-deva

Identical transliterations in both the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ*: 阿迦貳吒天 (e.g. 435a15-18; 439c26; 476c13); note that Redaction B of the *BZSMJ* has replaced 貳 with 尼.

anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi

Frequently transliterated 阿耨多羅三耶三菩 in *DXJ* (e.g. 437b24; 438b20; 440b5); often, however, where the Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭa* has this term, the *DXJ* merely has 佛道, 得佛, 佛, or similar (e.g. 429c29; 431c5; 432b6). Similarly, where the Tib. text of the *PraS* has *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub*, the *BZSMJ* generally has 佛道, 得佛, etc. At odds with the *DXJ* are the translation 無上正眞道 of 3D and the more 'modern' transcription 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 of 8C, 13A and 19C (ascribable to Redaction B?). See also next.

anuttarāṃ samyak-saṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhyate (and related expressions)

In the *DXJ* this is often transliterated in full, in which case it agrees with the transliteration which appears several times in the *BZSMJ*; e.g. 得阿耨多羅三耶三菩阿惟三佛 (e.g. 437a9; 443b26-27), 自致阿耨多羅三耶三菩成至阿惟三佛 (e.g. 438a19-20), or similar. More frequently, however, where this phrase occurs in the Sanskrit the *DXJ* has a kind of 'shorthand' translation, like 作佛, 自致作佛, 成佛道, etc. (e.g. 426c1; 431c20; 433b25). This state of affairs is exactly that found in the *BZSMJ*. What is not found in the *BZSMJ* is the *DXJ*'s equally frequent use of 成 (or 得) 阿惟三佛 by itself (e.g. 442c24; 450b14).

anuttarāyāḥ samyak-saṃbodher avaivartika / avinivartanīya, etc.

Always transliterated in the *DXJ* 阿惟越致, nearly always unaccompanied by any equivalent for *anuttarāyāḥ samyak-saṃbodher* (e.g. 426a17; 444c3). The same is found in the *BZSMJ* at 3H and 7D.

Only infrequently in the *DXJ* do we find the translations that occur in the *BZSMJ* at 3D, 23U and 26E (e.g. 455a13).

Avaivartika may also stand independently of *anuttarāyāḥ*, etc., often in apposition to *bodhisattva* or compounded with *bhūmi*. In such cases it is transliterated identically in both texts (e.g. 432b8; 437b20; 445a7).

anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti

Identical equivalent used throughout *BZSMJ* and *DXJ*: 無所從(來)生法樂 (e.g. 451a14-15; 453c1-2); note the idiosyncratic use of 樂 for *kṣānti*.

anumodanā (and related verbal forms)

While the *BZSMJ* has 助歡喜, sometimes 助其歡喜, the *DXJ* has 助(其)歡欣 (e.g. 466a5). However, when the *Aṣṭa* has *anumodanā* the *DXJ* most often has 勸助 (e.g. 438a16; 438b27-28), sometimes 代勸助 (e.g. 439b16; 440a13). This appears to run counter to the text, which has nothing to do with 'encouragment' but is treating of 'jubiliation', 'rejoicing'. Have the translators understood the verb in a strictly causative sense, i.e. 'to cheer up'? The same 勸助 can be found in the *BZSMJ*, in the title of *pin* XIII and in the verses of 23G, even when the text is clearly concerned with the merit to be derived from 'rejoicing'. In the *DXJ* a strange hybrid form is also found, e.g. at 485c25: 勸人助其歡欣, 'encourage others and assist their jubilation'. The whole matter needs careful study, but the resemblance between the *DXJ* and the *BZSMJ* is nonetheless striking.

arhat

Transliterated in both texts as 阿羅漢 (e.g. 430b6-7; 432b4). Similarly *arhattva* is rendered 阿羅漢道 (437b8,15; 478a17); in the *DXJ* this seems also to be the equivalent for *arhat-phala*.

asaṃkhyeya

Identical transliterations in both *BZSMJ* and *DXJ*: 阿僧祇 (e.g. 429c10; 430c8; 431a9).

asura

Identical transliterations: 阿須倫 (e.g. 433b16-17; 434c28-29; 438c12). Note that Redaction A of the *BZSMJ* once has 羞 instead of 須 (at 1I).

Ānanda

Identical transliterations: 阿難 (e.g. 434b3; 436a15; 478a24).

āyatana

The term the *BZSMJ* uses for *āyatana*, 衰, is used by the *DXJ* where the Sanskrit text has *indriya* (427a25-26; see also 474a2). Since the *dvādaśāyatanāni* include the six sense-organs, we must regard the *DXJ*'s use of 衰 as related to the use of that word in the *BZSMJ*.

āveṇika(buddha)dharma

Similar renderings in both texts: (佛) 十八事 (不共) (e.g. 426b17; 472a23-24); but note use of 事 for dharma in the **verse** which comes at the end of Chap. 20 in the *BZSMJ* (917b4).

Indradatta

This name is not found in the *Aṣṭa*, but at 431a1 the *DXJ* does have the term 諸因坻天, 'the Indra-gods'. 因坻 is identical with the first element of the name in the *BZSMJ*: 因坻達.

upāya-kauśalya

This important Mahāyāna term, which occurs so frequently in the *DXJ* (where it is always transliterated 漚恕拘舍羅, e.g. 447c18; 451c15) is found only once in the *BZSMJ*, at 16V, in a **verse** which has no counterpart in any other version of the *PraS*; there it is translated as 善權方便.

upāsaka / upāsikā

These two terms are transliterated identically in both the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ*: 優婆塞 優婆夷 (e.g. 431a15; 451a13-14). However, the translations 清信士 and 清信女 are found several times in the **verse** *gāthās* of the *BZSMJ*; this is definitely inconsistent with the style of the *DXJ*.

kalyāṇa-mitra

Identical usage in both texts of the translations 善師 and 善知識 (e.g. 427a29; 452b3). The *DXJ*'s occasional transliteration 迦羅蜜 is not found in the *BZSMJ*.

kinnara

Standard in the *DXJ* is 甄陀羅 (e.g. 434c29-435a1; 435b1; 470a28), while the *BZSMJ* generally has 眞陀羅 (甄多羅 found once only at 1I in K). Both are archaic forms. Common to both texts is the addition to this and other classes of mythical beings of the explanatory 鬼神 ('spirit').

kumbhāṇḍa

Similar transliterations. While *BZSMJ* has 鳩洹鬼神, *DXJ* has 鳩垣

(e.g. 475b19). Note T.417's 鳩坻 at 901c13, with 坻 apparently being a miscopied 垣.

kuśala-karmapatha (daśa-)

In the *BZSMJ* 十善 appears once (2G), but this term is always rendered 十戒 in the *DXJ* (e.g. 436c7; 454b28).

kuśala-mūla

Wherever the Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭa* has *kuśala-mūla*, the *DXJ* has 功德 if it has anything at all (e.g. 451b2; 452c11). The *BZSMJ* reveals the same state of affairs *vis-à-vis* the Tibetan text of the *PraS*, except that once (at 3J) it has 本功德.

gaṅgā-nadī-vāluka-sama (and related expressions)

In the *DXJ* the usual rendering is 如恒邊沙 (e.g. 430c17; 440b8). This accords well with the treatment of the expression in the *BZSMJ*.

gandharva

In the *DXJ* we find 揵 (or 犍)陀羅 and 乾陀羅, while the *BZSMJ* has 乾陀羅; in both texts we encounter the frequent addition of the explanatory 鬼神 (e.g. 435a1; 438c12; 475b17).

garuḍa

In the *DXJ*, as in the *BZSMJ*, the two forms 迦樓羅 (鬼神) and 迦留羅 (鬼神) are found (e.g. 434c29; 438c12); the *DXJ* also has the form 迦留勒 (e.g. 475b18).

cakravarti-rājan

Two transliterated forms of this are found in the *DXJ*: 遮迦越王 (e.g. 451a19; 458a21) and 遮迦越羅 (e.g. 465a21; 477a2). In the latter 羅 represents the first syllable of *rājan*; in the former this word is translated. Only the first form is found in the *BZSMJ*.

cīvara

Identical transliterations: 震越 (e.g. 440b9; 447c12; often in next).

cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayanāsana-glānapratyayabhaiṣajya-pariṣkāra

In the *DXJ* a full translation appears regularly: 震越衣服 (or 被)飲 (SYM: 飯)食床臥具病痩醫藥, or similar, with the 震越 (*cīvara*) sometimes omitted (e.g. 439b12; 440a4-5; 462c12-13). The full formula is never found in the *BZSMJ*.

Jambudvīpa

Both texts have the earlier transliteration 閻浮利 (e.g. 432a26, b1-2; 435c1). The substitution of 提 for 利 is a later development.

tathatā

Appears often in the *Aṣṭa*, but does not figure very prominently in the *PraS*. The 'Neo-Taoist' term 本無 is the equivalent used throughout the *DXJ* (e.g. 450a1ff.; 453b7ff.); the same translation is found once in the *BZSMJ* (at 1T).

trayastriṃśa-deva

Identical transliterations in both texts: 忉利天 (e.g. 433b17; 434c24; 435c10).

triśāhasra-mahāsāhasra-lokadhātu

In the *DXJ* usually rendered 三千大(千)國土 (e.g. 433a6, 12; 435a19; 451b3). The forms 三千大千剎土 (443c29) and 三千大千國界 (478a16) are also found. The usage of the *BZSMJ* is similar, particularly with respect to the employment of 國土.

daśa-bala

The form 十種力 is found throughout the *DXJ* (e.g. 426b17; 441a9). This accords well with the usual rendition in the *BZSMJ*.

Dīpaṃkara

Identical transliteration: 提和竭羅 (e.g. 431a7). The translation 定光 found in 17Bv1 of the *BZSMJ* does not appear in the *DXJ*.

Dṛḍhavīrya

This name is not found in the *DXJ*, but its final element, *vīrya*, is transliterated in the prose of the *BZSMJ* as 惟逮 (if we regard the intervening 是 as a scribal error: T.417 does not have it). In the *DXJ* the *vīrya* of *vīrya-pāramitā* is also transliterated in this way (see below, s.v. *pāramitās*).

dharma

In both the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ* the word *dharma* is translated *passim* by 法, 經, 經法, 事, and 事法.

dharma-bhāṇaka

This term is rendered throughout the *DXJ* as either 法師 (e.g. 436c4) or 經師 (e.g. 451b13). The *BZSMJ* presents a greater variety of translations, among which 善師, also the rendering for *kalyāṇa-mitra*, is most common.

dhāraṇī

The *DXJ* transliterates 陀隣尼 (e.g. 477a29); the *BZSMJ* has this word once (at 1T), K (Redaction A) agreeing with the *DXJ*, SYM (B) having

陀羅尼.

nirvāṇa

Identical transliterations: 泥洹 (e.g. 426b12, 15; 452c1). The *BZSMJ* also has 無為 in the prose (2H, 2J) and 滅度 once in the verse (19Dv2); neither of these is found in the *DXJ*.

parinirvāṇa

Identical transliterations: 般泥洹 (e.g. 432a20, b15; 436a23; 444a15).

pāpa-mitra

Rendered in the *DXJ* as 悪師 (e.g. 427a28; 441c18) or as 悪知識 (437a13; 455c15). The same situation is found in the *BZSMJ*.

pāramitās

The six *pāramitās* are listed frequently throughout the *DXJ*, where they are either transliterated (e.g. 434b3ff.; 453a16-17) or translated as 布施 (*dāna*), 持戒 (*śīla*), 忍辱 (*kṣānti*), 精進 (*vīrya*), 一心 (*dhyāna*; sometimes also 禪 or 禪定), and 智慧 (*prajñā*), especially where the individual terms appear independently of the word *pāramitā* (e.g. 440a23-24; 452b5ff.). *Pāramitā* itself is almost always transliterated, although the terms 度無極 (438a22) and 極過度 (435b11-12) do occur.

In the prose of the *BZSMJ* the *pāramitās* are mentioned once (at 1R, where the word *pāramitā* is translated 度無有極) and listed once (at 5D, where they are translated exactly as above). In verse they appear in 16V (T.418 only: 2nd and 3rd verses), where they are designated 六度, and listed as 布施, 戒, 忍, 精進, 一心 and 智慧.

pratītya-samutpāda

This term is found once only in the *BZSMJ* (at 2I), where the equivalent given for it (従因縁生) differs completely from the 十二因縁 found in the *DXJ* (e.g. 469b26-27, 29).

pratyeka-buddha

Identical transliterations: 辟支佛 (e.g. 432b4; 437b5; 475b24).

preta

In the *DXJ* *preta* is always transliterated 薜荔 (e.g. 448a18; 475b19). This transliteration appears once in the prose of the *BZSMJ* (at 14D), but in 14Jv8 the term is translated 餓鬼.

bahuśruta, *bāhuśrutya*, etc.

I have been able to find only one possible equivalent for this term in the *DXJ* (高才, at 477b17; also at 460b15?), which reflects its total lack of

importance in the *Aṣṭa*. The *BZSMJ* contains a bewildering variety of equivalents for the concept, one of which is 高才; the most frequent element is 高明.

Buddha (and related terms)

Rendered by 佛 in both texts. Only two other circumlocutions for Buddha are found in the *DXJ* and the prose of the *BZSMJ*; they are *bhagavat*, rendered by 天中天 in both (e.g. 432b21; 433a18; 439a16; usually in the vocative, but non-vocative usage also occurs), and *tathāgata* or *tathāgato 'rhan samyak-saṃbuddha*, transliterated the same way in both: 怛薩阿竭 (阿羅訶三耶三佛) (far more common in the *DXJ*, e.g. 432a17-18, b13; 434a2-3). The translation 如來 for *tathāgata* appears only once in the *BZSMJ* (in **verse**, at 23Vv1), and only once do we find it in the *DXJ* (450b3), in the course of an etymological explanation. Of the other customary circumlocutions for Buddha--*Sugata*, *Jina*, *Śākyasiṃha*, etc.--there is virtually no trace either in the *DXJ* or in the prose of the *BZSMJ* (nor do these occur in the prose *gāthās* of Redaction A). In the verse *gāthās* of the *BZSMJ* (i.e. Redaction B), however, it is an entirely different story--see Glossary, s.v. *Jina*, *dvipadendra*, *narendra*, *śāstṛ-saṃjñā*, *Sugata* for references. As for the formula *tathāgato 'rhan samyak-saṃbuddho vidyācaraṇa-saṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca buddho bhagavān*, rendered twice and very idiosyncratically in the *BZSMJ* (15A, 23H), it is found only once in the *DXJ*, at 431a10-11, where Dīpaṃkara predicts the future Buddhahood of Śākyamuni at the end of Chap. II of the *Aṣṭa*. There it runs: 天上天下於中最尊安定世間法(Y & M add: 中) 極明號字 (Y & M: 日) 為佛; cf. the wording of the *BZSMJ* at 15A: 怛薩阿竭阿羅訶三耶三佛於世間極尊安定於世間於經中大明 天上天下號日天中天.

buddha-kṣetra

In the *DXJ* the most common renderings of this term are 佛國 (e.g. 433b9) and 佛剎 (e.g. 440a2). Also found are 佛國土 (e.g. 433a22), 剎土 (e.g. 438a17), 佛界 (e.g. 464a5), and 佛境界 (465c24). In many of the instances in which these terms are used the Sanskrit text has *lokadhātu*, not *buddha-kṣetra*. The usual equivalent in the *BZSMJ* is 佛剎.

bodhi-citta (and *bodhi-cittaṁ utpad-*)

For *bodhi-citta* and the verbal expressions in which it is usually employed the *DXJ* has a variety of equivalents; the usual ones are (初) 發意求佛 (e.g. 437c2; 458b1-2), 發意行佛道 (e.g. 437b25), 學佛道心 (e.g. 437b18), and so on. They all reflect the fact that in the early days of Chinese Buddhism the concept was not self-explanatory, and are thus distinguished from the 菩提心 of later translators.

The *BZSMJ* is less unified in its choice of equivalents, but at 4C it does have 學佛道, and at 23M we find 發意求佛道. 佛道 stands, of course, for *bodhi* in both texts.

bodhisattva mahāsattva

Bodhisattva is transliterated in both texts as 菩薩 (e.g. 425c7; 426a10). The transliteration 摩訶薩 for *mahāsattva*, found throughout the *DXJ* (e.g. 425c7; 427b22), occurs once in the *BZSMJ* (3C); but at 17Bv2 we find the translation 大士 (does not occur in the *DXJ*).

Brahmā Sahāṃpati

Similar transliterations. *DXJ* usually has 梵摩三鉢(天) (e.g. 431a27), while *BZSMJ* generally omits the 摩.

Bhadrakalpa

In the *DXJ* this term is always transliterated as 婆羅劫 (e.g. 451a15). In the *BZSMJ* it occurs once, in verse, where it is partially translated: 賢劫. It will be seen that the 婆羅 of Bhadrakalpa in the *DXJ* does not agree with the 颰陀 of Bhadrapāla in the *BZSMJ*.

bhikṣu / bhikṣuṇī

Identical transliterations: 比丘 比丘尼 (e.g. 435b22; 437a12).

bhūta-koṭi

This difficult term is rendered by 本際 in both the *BZSMJ* (at 1U) and the *DXJ* (where it appears at 442c6, 7, 22; 448b26; and 458a8-10).

maṇi-ratna

Identical renderings: 摩尼珠 (e.g. 435c26; 436a1; 447b22).

Mahāprajāpatī

At 431a1 the *DXJ* has a transliteration for Prajāpati: 波耶和提. This bears some similarity to the transliteration for Mahāprajāpatī given in the *BZSMJ*: 摩訶波和提 (at 16B 和 is replaced by 喻).

mahāyāna

Identical transliterations: 摩訶衍 (e.g. 427c28; 428a6; 446b21). See also next.

mahāyāna-saṃprasthita

Identical transliterations: 摩 訶 衍 三 拔 致 (e.g. 427c1-2, 27; 429b6-7); however, the *BZSMJ* prefixes this with 求 ('seek'), which is misleading and redundant, and may indicate a subsequent attempt to clarify the passages in which the term occurs, or the incorporation of a gloss.

mahāsaṃnāha-saṃnaddha

Identical transliterations found: 摩訶僧那僧涅 (e.g. 427c2-4; 429b6; 452c17), although the *DXJ* occasionally contains translations of this term, e.g. 被 僧 那 大 鎧 (see 443a23ff.; 467a21, 26).

mahoraga

Identical transliterations: 摩睺勒 (e.g. 435a1; 438c12; 470a27), once again with the explanatory 鬼 神 usually tacked on.

Māra

Identical transliterations 魔(羅) (e.g. 446b18; 460c8); common throughout the *DXJ* is 弊 魔 (e.g. 434a6), which is not found in the *BZSMJ*.

Maitreya

Identical transliterations: 彌勒 (e.g. 425c8; 438a14, b3).

yakṣa

Identical transliterations: 閱叉 (e.g. 434c29; 435b1; 438c11), usually with explanatory 鬼 神.

Ratnākara

BZSMJ: 羅隣那竭 . The first element of this name is found similarly transliterated in the *DXJ* at 467c1, 9: 羅 麟 那.

Rājagṛha

Identical transliterations: 羅閱祇 (e.g. 425c6; 478b9-10).

rūpa--vedanā--saṃjñā--saṃskāra--vijñāna

The five *skandhas* (translated 陰 in both texts) are listed several times in the *PraS* and on innumerable occasions in the *Aṣṭa*. Both the *DXJ* and the *BZSMJ* translate them in the same way: 色 (*rūpa*), 痛 痒 (*vedanā*), 思 想 (*saṃjñā*), 生 死 (*saṃskāra*!) and 識 (*vijñāna*). For the *DXJ* see e.g. 426a19-21; 427c16ff.; 437a13-18.

vaiḍūrya

Identical transliterations: 琉 璃 (e.g. 472a2; 474c17).

Vaiśālī

Identical transliterations: 維 舍 利 (e.g. 434a11).

Śakra *devānām indra*

Identical transliterations: 釋提桓因 (e.g. 432a15; 434a7; 435c9).

śarīra

Identical transliterations: 舍利 (e.g. 432a20, b17; 435c1).

Śākyamuni

Identical transliterations: 釋迦文 (e.g. 431a10; 458b6).

Śāriputra

Similar transliterations: *DXJ* has 舍利弗 (e.g. 425c7, 28; 433c27), *BZSMJ* adds 羅.

śūnyatā--animitta--apraṇihita

In the *DXJ* this trinity usually appears as 空 or 空者 (*śūnyatā*), 無想 or 無相 (*animitta*), and 無願 (*apraṇihita*) (e.g. 444a11-12; 456a27-28). Once 無色 is substituted for 無相 (453c6-7). The situation in the *BZSMJ* is a lot less regular, but there 無所著 seems to do service for *apraṇihita*; the first two terms are rendered much the same as in the *DXJ*.

samādhi

In the *DXJ* this word is always transliterated 三昧 (e.g. 438a24; 439a28). In the *BZSMJ* 三昧 is the usual equivalent, but 定 and 定意 also occur.

sarvajña(tā)

Identical transliterations found in both texts: 薩芸若 (e.g. 426b3-4; 432a18; 433a20).

sarva-sattva

Often transliterated in the *DXJ* as 薩和薩 (e.g. 433a7; 458b27), yet occasionally we find the curious equivalent (十方 or 一切) 人民 (及) 蜎飛蠕動 (之類), 'all human beings (or: the human beings in the ten quarters) as well as those (species) that flit and wriggle [i.e. insects and worms]' (e.g. 431c21; 433c19; 436b5-6; 462b22). This expression is also found in the *BZSMJ* at 16D and 23D: (十方)人民及蜎飛蠕動之類; the Tib. has, as we would expect, *sems can thams cad*. Elsewhere the term *sarva-sattva* is rendered by 一切人民 (e.g. 904b11), 十方人 (e.g. 904c4), or similar. The phrase 蜎飛蠕動 is clearly a borrowing from popular usage or from secular literature, in which it first appeared during the Han Dynasty.[29] **

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29 This item is interesting in that it represents an early translator's attempt to overcome the difficulties that must have been experienced in conveying to the

Sumeru

Identical transliterations: 須彌山 (e.g. 465c22).

smṛtyupasthāna (*catur-*)

Identical transliterations: 四意止 (e.g. 475b25).

3. Conclusions

From the above list it will be apparent that there are too many similarities between the *BZSMJ* (prose) and the *DXJ* for us to evade the conclusion that the two translations were originally the work, if not of the same person, viz. Lokakṣema, then certainly of the same school. The transliterations used in both texts are almost all identical,[30] and the majority of translated terms exhibits a close affinity--this is particularly so with renderings that are regarded as especially characteristic of Lokakṣema: see s.v. *tathatā*, Buddha, *bhūta-koṭi*, etc. Certain discrepancies do indeed exist between the two texts, but they are hardly enough to swing the balance, and certainly insufficient to enable us to

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Chinese the significance not only of the concept *sattva* but also of the fact that Buddhism brought all sentient life within the same soteriological ambit. It must have been for this reason that Lokakṣema made such heavy use of the transliteration 薩和薩 in his version of the *Aṣṭa*. As with all other transliterations (excluding those of proper names), the term would be completely unintelligible to the uninitiated Chinese reader (or hearer), and is thereby marked as a special concept that needs to be explained by a teacher and learned by the student. The alternative to this procedure is often to select a more or less misleading translation, and this in fact is what has been done by both the *BZSMJ* (in places) and the *Bapo pusa jing* in the case of *(sarva)sattva*: their equivalent is 人 (民), 'human beings' or 'people', and thus the tale is lost in the telling. Later translators remedied the situation with neologisms like 衆生, 'the multitude of born things'. Cf. Nakamura 1957, esp. pp. 156-157. **Note that 衆生 occurs occasionally in the **verses** only of the *BZSMJ*.

30 This in itself is not enough to prove a connection, since many of the transliterations of the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ* were the common stock-in-trade of translators of this period. As an example of this one has only to look at the two translations of the *Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra* attributed to Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa (T.427 and T.428), in which the names of the eight *bodhisattvas* who appear in the *BZSMJ* are transliterated almost identically in Zhi Qian's text (73a17-19), identically in Dharmarakṣa's (74a19-22). In fact, many of the transliterations which Lokakṣema pioneered remained in common use for centuries. What distinguishes the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ* from other early translations, however, is the heavy reliance on such phonetic transcriptions.

ascribe the *BZSMJ* to any other translator.[31] I think it likely that these discrepancies are the result of minor alterations made during the course of a later revision. We must also remember to allow a certain margin for error in investigations of this sort, since Lokakṣema's works circulated for more than six or seven centuries in MS form before the first woodblock printing of the Chinese Canon. Thus we must take into account such imponderables as the tendency of scribes to attempt to 'improve' the text before them.

There are, of course, many other items of standard use besides those listed above, and these are treated similarly in both translations. The general style of both texts as well is very close,[32] although one gets the impression that the *DXJ* is for the most part a clearer and more unified translation than the *BZSMJ*. This may have something to do with the later history of the latter text.

As has been pointed out above, the verse *gāthās* of the *BZSMJ* (which belong to Redaction B) contain various translations which are not found in the *DXJ* or in the prose of the *BZSMJ*, and which cannot be identified with Lokakṣema's style. At the same time, many of the renderings to be found in these *gāthās* are consistent with the prose, and the same is true of their transcriptions, although often these *gāthās* prefer to translate proper names, which Lokakṣema usually avoided doing. Yet the very form of these verses militates against their ascription to Lokakṣema, who in other translations habitually renders *gāthās* in prose. Therefore we must regard these verse *gāthās* which characterise Redaction B as the product of a later hand. The question is: how much later? As we have demonstrated, the author of Redaction B had access to a different Sanskrit MS (or memorised text) of the *PraS*; this may mean that he lived some time after Lokakṣema. At the same time he employed much of Lokakṣema's terminology, and did not venture to alter the prose of the *BZSMJ* to any major degree.

For these reasons I believe it most likely that at some time in the third century, when Lokakṣema's translationese was still in vogue, someone with

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31 As a 'control', so to speak, I have also made a brief survey of the terminology used in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *SP*, the *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 (T.263). If the style of this text is at all representative of Dharmarakṣa's work as a whole, then he is to be eliminated as a possible author of either redaction of the *BZSMJ*, so different are his renderings from those of the *BZSMJ* and the *DXJ*.

32 Both texts display all the characteristics of Late Han Buddhist Chinese as analysed in Zürcher 1977.

access to a Sanskrit MS of the *PraS* took the Indo-scythian master's early version, which we have called Redaction A, and replaced its prose *gāthās* with a new verse translation. At the same time the prose itself was revised slightly, with Lokakṣema's customary truncated *nidāna* (without even an *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*) being replaced by a full rendering,[33] and certain other adjustments being carried out here and there (this could explain the occasional appearance of certain renderings uncharacteristic of Lokakṣema). In this way Redaction B came into being.[34]

The identity of the author of this revised version of the *BZSMJ* can perhaps be revealed by a closer study of the style of the verse *gāthās* of B. Suspicion will naturally fall first on Dharmarakṣa, in view of the evidence of the catalogues (see below), but, as we have pointed out (see n. 31), Dharmarakṣa's style is at such variance with that of the *BZSMJ* (even in its verse *gāthās*) that he can hardly be regarded as a likely candidate; however, a fuller study of Dharmarakṣa's work may enable us to alter this opinion. Zhi Qian too is worth investigating, since he is well-known for revising Lokakṣema's translations.[35]

In conclusion, in the two editions of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan* that we have today, Chaps. 1-6 of K go back to Lokakṣema's original translation. The prose of Chaps. 7-26 in both K and SYM may be ascribed with some hesitation to the same source, but the *gāthās* of SYM 1-26 and K 7-26 are the work of a later hand, as yet unknown.

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33 Cf. n. 28.

34 The other possibility that is certainly worth keeping in mind is that of conflation, for it may well be that Redaction B is the result of the conflation of the prose of Lokakṣema's version (A) with the verses of a separate translation (X).

35 See e.g. *Sengyou lu*, 49b4ff., concerning Zhi Qian's revision of Lokakṣema's *Śgs*. It is quite possible that he did the same for the *BZSMJ*, which would explain the various stylistic similarities between A and B.

VI. THE *BANZHOU SANMEI JING* IN ONE *JUAN* (T.417)

The *BZSMJ* in one *juan*, T.417, is a later abridgement of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan*. Significantly, it is an abridgement of Redaction B of that text; that is, in those places where B differs markedly from A, T.417 follows B. In specific terms T.417 abridges the *nidāna* as found in B, and it condenses the verse *gāthās* at the end of Chap. 4 as also found in B (it does not contain any of the *gāthās* of Chaps. 5 or 6).

The structure of T.417 can be seen by reference to the Concordance and Comparative Table of Chapters. Whereas T.418 has 16 *pin*, T.417 has only eight, the titles of which it has borrowed directly from the larger version. It contains the following material, some of it very heavily abridged:

Pin I

The entire *nidāna* (1A-I) compressed into one sentence. Bhadrapāla's question as to how *bodhisattvas* are to acquire a whole range of good qualities (1J-Y). The Buddha's answer that the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* confers all these (2A-C).

Pin II

The Buddha's description of the qualities involved in practising the *samādhi* (2D-J). This is given in the form of a 'litany' composed of three-character phrases; although printed in verse in the *Taishō* it is not marked as such in the text itself. Many of the phrases begin with the prohibitory *wu nian* 勿念 ('do not think'), possibly inspired by the frequent use of the negative in T.418. Much of the material has only the most tenuous connection with the large *BZSMJ*, and the whole thing appears to have been a flight of fancy on the part of the compiler of the text, especially since a verse passage of this sort is not found in any other version of the *PraS*.

The entirety of Chap. 3 (which constitutes the core of the *PraS*) follows in condensed form (3A-O): instructions for practising the *samādhi* and similes illustrating its nature are given.

Pin III

Summary of Chap. 4, with verses condensed (4A-E), giving further prerequisites for the successful practice of the *samādhi*. This is followed by an extremely short abridgement of the prose of Chap. 5 (5A-D), which

inculcates respect for the teacher and demonstrates the efficacy of the *samādhi*.

Pin IV

Abridgement of Chaps. 6 and 7, with the *gāthās* of Chap. 6 being omitted (6A-I, 7A-G). Deals with the value of the *samādhi*, the great merit of those who accept it, and the utter perversity of those who reject it.

Pin V

Abridgement of Chap. 9, 10, 11 and 12, with a selection from the *gāthās* of each (9A-M, 10A-C, 11A-D, 12A-C). Deals with the ethical requirements for the four different classes of followers of the Mahāyāna.

Pin VI

Abridgement of the prose only of Chap. 14 (14A-I), which details the worldly advantages to be derived from the *samādhi*, especially protection from all sorts of injury and harm.

Pin VII

The text now jumps straight to Chap. 23, and summarises the first two prose sections, 23A-F and 23H-U, which deal with the merit to be derived from the formal act of rejoicing, and give past instances of this (*avadānas*).

Pin VIII

Abridgement of 23W (another *avadāna*, various statements on devotion to one's teacher). Summary of 24A-B (the 'seal of the Buddhas'). Summary of the *parindanā* and conclusion (26B-F).

A close comparison of the text of T.417 with that of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan* shows the former to be the result of a scissors-and-paste job of the most obvious sort.[36] This is more evident in the *gāthās*, where the compiler of the text has selected various *pādas* (or sometimes even parts of *pādas*) from different verses of Redaction B and recombined them to form new verses, occasionally altering the wording or adding bridging material where necessary. If one looks, for example, at the *gāthās* of Chap. 7 (see T.417, 900c5-15) the process can be seen at work. Where the Tib. text has 17 verses, the *BZSMJ* in three *juan* had originally 16 (in the same order), Verse 12 being absent. T.417, however, has 5 1/2 verses (!), i.e. 22 *pādas*, which break down as follows (the verse nos. are those of the Tib., the *pāda* nos. those of T.418): 2a,b,c,d; 3a,b,c,d;

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36 Full examples of this have already been given by Hayashiya (1945: 560ff.). See also Sakurabe 1975a: 174.

9a,b,d; 13a,b; 14a,b,c,d; 15a,b; 17d,b; 16d.

The prose is abridged in a similar fashion, although there are two exceptional passages. One of these is the above-mentioned 'litany' of *pin* II; the other is that section of the text (898a6-26) corresponding to Bhadrapāla's question (1K-Y). Although many of the 'qualities' enumerated resemble those of T.418, there are others which cannot be identified; furthermore, each of the qualities begins with the characters 云何行, 'by practising in what way...?' This is not found in T.418 (but cf. T.416, 873a10ff.). We must conclude that this particular passage (together with the 'litany') is either a flight of fancy on the author's part or is based on another translation of the *PraS*. Whatever the answer to this question, after the litany T.417 turns into a straight abridgement of the larger *BZSMJ*, and here the compiler of the work has occasionally betrayed himself by misunderstanding the original text; in fact, quite a few blunders can be found. Zürcher (1975: 14, n. 19) has already pointed out how the meaningless 今故 (900b15) owes its existence to the fact that the original evidently had 尓故 (尓 being the abbreviated form of 爾; 爾故 appears in T.418, 907c8), which our abridger miscopied. The name of the city in the *avadāna* at 23I, which I have tentatively restored as *Bhadraṃkara, is in any event **not** Bhadrapāla, as T.417 would have it (902a15). At 26E the abridger has perhaps not recognised Lokakṣema's use of 樂 for *kṣānti*, and instead of 10,000 *bodhisattvas* attaining *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*, as they do in T.418, we find them merely attaining the *anutpattika-dharmas* (902c11).

What is more significant than these slips, however, is the fact that the author of this abridgement has frequently modernised Lokakṣema's renderings, e.g.

dhāraṇī is translated by 總持 (898a14)
nirvāṇa is transliterated 涅槃 (899c1,5; 902a19)
yakṣa is transliterated 夜叉 (898a2; 901c12)
bhagavat appears as 世尊 (901c21)
cakravarti-rājan appears translated as 轉輪王 (902a15-16)
gaṅgā-nadī-vāluka-sama is rendered 如恒河沙 (902b28)
Śāriputra appears as 舍利弗 (902c12, 17)
The *daśādhivacana* (ten names for a Buddha) formula appears several times as 等正覺無上士道法御天人師佛世尊 (902a12-13, 28; 902b12-13, without 道法御).

Other alterations to Lokakṣema's original text in its revised form include

some important changes to the crucial Chap. 3, Section F (T.417, 899a29-b6). Whereas in T.418 (905b12) Amitābha informs *bodhisattvas* that if they wish to be reborn in Sukhāvatī they should 'call me to mind repeatedly' (念我數數), in T.417 *bodhisattvas* are instructed to 'call to mind my **name**' (念我名). As a result of calling to mind the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*), states T.418, *bodhisattvas* will 'succeed in being born in Amitābha's Buddha-land' (得生阿彌陀佛國); according to T.417 they will simply 'obtain rebirth' (得往生). In T.418 *bodhisattvas* should call to mind (念) Amitābha as expounding the Dharma in the midst of an assembly of *bhikṣus* (比丘僧)--*śrāvakas* in T.419 and Tib., *śramaṇas* in T.416--but in T.417 this becomes an assembly of *bodhisattvas* (菩薩僧). These variants in T.417--especially the mention of the Buddha's **name** and the use of the technical term 往生, which, without any direction being specified, signifies rebirth in Sukhāvatī--indicate the influence of Pure Land theory and terminology current in China at the time of the composition of this abridgement, and, far from reflecting the original Sanskrit/Indic text of the *PraS*, reveal the use to which the *sūtra* was put in China, namely as a support for Pure Land practice.

Not only do these important alterations to the terminology and the sense of the text make any ascription to Lokakṣema completely nonsensical, they also enable us to date its composition to around the time of Dharmarakṣa (i.e. *circa* 300) or later, since it was only then that such 'modern' forms began to be used. Thus Tsukamoto (1968: 108) dates the text to the Eastern Jin (317-420) on the basis of its terminology, while Hayashiya (1945: 571) dates it to the Western Jin (265-316). However, as Sakurabe has pointed out (1975a: 179), there is really insufficient evidence for such a precise determination.

The *BZSMJ* in one *juan* is therefore not an independent translation of the *PraS*, but a condensation by an unknown hand of the **revised version** of Lokakṣema's *BZSMJ*, with the possible inclusion of several elements from a separate translation. As far as the discussion of the textual history of the *PraS* outside China is concerned, this work's testimony is of no value; that is why it has been ignored in the notes to the English translation of the Tibetan text. But it is a different matter when we come to discuss the history of the *sūtra* in China and Japan, where the abridgement has often been accorded a higher place and made more use of than the original on which it was based. Not only does T.417 reveal to us what a Chinese Buddhist scholar would have considered as the

essential parts of the *PraS*,[37] it also provides us with one means for constructing a critical edition of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan*. In fact, its testimony in this regard is highly instructive. In our discussion of the two versions (not the two redactions) of the larger *BZSMJ*, i.e. K and SYM, we have already mentioned the many minor variant readings in the prose. Quite a few of these can be checked against the text of T.417, and we find that, while T.417 agrees with K against SYM in most cases, there is also a large number of instances in which T.417 agrees with SYM against K. We also observed previously that where a variant occurred, the correct or more plausible reading was found sometimes in K, sometimes in SYM. What this means is that ever since the time when Redaction B was made from the original A, and the abridgement in one *juan* was made on the basis of B, both branches of the textual tradition have continued to undergo separately the vicissitudes of scribal transmission and corruption. T.417 is therefore a valuable witness for the restoration of both redactions of the *BZSMJ* to something nearer their original form.

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[37] Important in this regard is our abridger's lack of interest in those parts of the *PraS* which deal with *śūnyatā* and related concepts. Such passages have been excised wholesale, no doubt because the abridger, whoever he (or, less likely, she) was, was more concerned with the 'Pure Land' aspects of the work. However, in regarding T.417 as a form of the *PraS* closer to the *Urtext*, Shikii (1963: 205-206) has taken this state of affairs as evidence that the *sūtra* was composed before the rise of Prajñāpāramitā thought, and has assumed that the larger *BZSMJ* is thus a later form of the text into which Prajñāpāramitā ideas have been inserted. But given the actual status and nature of T.417, it can provide no support whatsoever for such text-historical theories.

VII. THE TESTIMONY OF THE CATALOGUES

We have already noted in a preliminary fashion the traditional attribution of the *BZSMJ* in three *juan* to Lokakṣema, and our examination of T.418 has borne this out, although the attribution has now to be qualified by the recognition of two separate redactions, A and B, of which A is Lokakṣema's original translation, and B, although it may be assumed to contain (largely unmodified) the prose of A, also contains a new translation of the *gāthās* by a later hand.

What few details are known about the life and work of Lokakṣema will be set forth in the folowing pages, since most of the material has some bearing on the problem of the *BZSMJ*. Even the man's name is a matter of some uncertainty. In Chinese he is known as Zhi Loujiachan 支婁 (or: 樓) 迦讖, although generally he is referred to by the abbreviated form Zhi Chan 支讖 (Japanese: Shisen) or sometimes simply Chan 讖. The 支 is clearly an *ethnikon*, since Lokakṣema is known to have been an Indo-scythian, or Yuezhi 月支, i.e. a subject of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. As to the name proper, Loujiachan, although all are agreed that Loujia is a transliteration of Loka-, -chan has caused some controversy. Several scholars have taken it as the final -kṣa of -rakṣa, and thus restored the name as Lokarakṣa. This seems to me highly unlikely, although I do not propose to go into the matter here.[38] One item of additional information that I feel should be put forward, however, concerns the

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38 Cf. Ui (1971: 471-472), where **Lokakṣama** is suggested. It must be borne in mind that the transliterations of this period are generally not based on Classical Sanskrit at all, but on some kind of Prākṛt--in all likelihood that Prākṛt which has been designated as 'Gāndhārī'. On the characteristics of Gāndhārī, see Bailey 1946 and Brough 1962 (esp. pp. 48-118). Lokakṣema's transliterations frequently suggest Gāndhārī forms, but a full study of them remains to be done before anything conclusive can be said. Ui (1971: 477-505) has attempted a treatment of the phonetic transcriptions found in the *DXJ*, but it must be said that the *DXJ*, like the *BZSMJ*, is relatively poor in this kind of material. Some of the other texts ascribed to Lokakṣema fairly bristle with transliterated proper names, and it is to be hoped that a complete examination of his output will, among other things, bring all this material together and determine how it relates to what we know concerning the phonology of Gāndhārī. For some preliminary remarks on this complex field, see Pulleyblank 1962 & 1983, and Coblin 1981.

reconstruction of the name *Kṣemarāja in 15A-C of the *PraS*. The restoration of T.418's Chanluoye 羼羅耶 as *Kṣemarāja supports the restoration of the homophone *chan* 讖 in the translator's name as -kṣema.[39]

As is the case with other translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese, the number of works attributed to Lokakṣema by the catalogues has swollen with the passing of time; in the *Kaiyuan lu*, for example, he is credited with 23 works totalling 67 *juan* (479a7).[40] For a more realistic estimate we must go back to Sengyou and through him to Dao'an. In the *Sengyou lu* (6b10-27) we find 14 works set against Lokakṣema's name, 12 of them on Dao'an's authority. A complete translation of the relevant entry follows:[41]

> [1] *Banruo daoxing pin jing* 般若道行品經 [= *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*] in ten *juan*; also called the *Mohe banruo boluomi* [K omits: *mi*] *jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經; also in eight *juan*; translated on the eighth day of the tenth month of Guanghe II [Nov. 24, 179].
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> [2] *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 [= *Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra*] in two *juan*; translated on the eighth day of the twelfth month of Zhongping II [Jan. 16, 186]; now lost.
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> [3] *Banzhou*[K adds: *ban*] *sanmei jing* 般舟[般]三昧經 [= *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*] in one [SYM: two] *juan*; the *Jiulu* calls it the *Da banzhou sanmei jing* 大般舟三昧經; translated on the eighth day [SYM: in the first eight days?] of the tenth month of Guanghe II [Nov. 24, 179].
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> [4] *Dun zhentuoluo jing* 伅眞陀羅經 [= *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*] in two *juan*; the *Jiu-lu*[42] calls it the *Dun zhentuoluo wang jing* 屯 [Ming: 伅] 眞陀羅王經; recorded in the *Bie-lu* 別錄; not in the *An-lu*; now lost.
>
> [5] *Fangdengbu gupin yue yiri shuo banruo jing* 方等部古品日遣日說般若經 [= *Kāśyapa-parivarta*?] in one *juan*; now lost.

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39 See n. 15.1.

40 For general comments on all the translations ascribed to Lokakṣema see Tokiwa 1939: 489-498.

41 See also Tsukamoto 1985: I, 98-101 for a translation of this entry. Note that this contains a number of errors.

42 Tokiwa (1939: 492) identifies the *Jiu-lu* here with Dao'an's list of anonymous *sūtras*, and the following *Bie-lu* with Zhi Mindu's catalogue. At any rate cf. *Sengyou lu*, 18a1, where the same text is listed as anonymous but extant.

[6] *Guangming sanmei jing* 光明三昧經 [= ?] in one *juan*; taken from the *Bie-lu*; not in the *An-lu*.

[7] *Azheshi wang jing* 阿闍世王經 [= *Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā-sūtra*] in two *juan*; An Gong says that it is from the *Chang-ahan* 長阿含 [*Dīrghāgama*]; the *Jiu-lu* [gives it as] the *Azheshi jing* 阿闍貰[Yuan & Ming: 世] 經 .

[8] *Baoji jing* 寶積經 [= *Kāśyapa-parivarta*?] in one *juan*; An Gong says that one name is the *Moni bao* 摩尼寶 ; translated in Guanghe II [179]; the *Jiu-lu* says: *Moni bao jing* 摩尼寶經 in two *juan*.

[9] *Wen shu jing* 問署經 [= ?] in one *juan*; An Gong says it is from the Vaipulya class, and is also called *Wenshu wen pusa-shu jing* 文殊問菩薩署經.

[10] *Fan* [K: *Hu*] *bannihuan jing* 梵 [胡] 般泥洹經 [= *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra*?] in one *juan*; now lost.

[11] *Dou*[Ming: *Fan*]*sha jing* 兜 [梵] 沙經 [= part of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*] in one *juan*.

[12] *Achu-foguo jing* 阿閦佛國經 [= *Akṣobhya-tathāgatasya-vyūha-sūtra*] in one *juan*; also called the *Achu-focha zhu-pusa xuecheng-pin jing* 阿閦佛刹諸菩薩學成品經; also called the *Achu-fo jing* 阿閦佛經.

[13] *Peiben jing* 孛本經 [= ?] in two *juan*; now lost.

[14] *Neizang bai-pin jing* 內藏百品經 [= *Lokānuvartanā-sūtra*] in one *juan*; An Gong says that it is from the Vaipulya class; the *Jiu-lu* calls it the *Neizang bai-bao jing* 內藏百寶經 ; I have examined all the catalogues, which all say *Neizang bai-bao* and lack a *Neizang bai-pin*, and therefore I know that it is this *sūtra*.

The above 14 [K: 13] works, 27 *juan* in all, were translated under the reigns of the Han Emperors Huan 桓 [146-168 C.E.] and Ling 靈 [168-189] by the Indo-scythian *śramaṇa* Zhi Chan. The nine *sūtras* from the *Gupin* [No. 5] to the *Neizang pin* are said by An Gong to appear to be translations by Zhi Chan.[43]

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[43] The authentication of works in the *Taishō* currently ascribed to Lokakṣema poses complex problems which cannot be dealt with here. According to Zürcher (1977: II & V), Nos. 1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12 and 14 have survived, while No. 4 and Nos. 5 & 8 (probably the same text, viz. the *KP*) appear also to have come down to us, although the attribution is doubtful. My own study of the texts in question has lead me to slightly different conclusions,

The above entry contains a number of variants in connection with which it is rather difficult to come to a satisfactory decision. I have attempted to edit the text, however, in accordance with what seems most likely. First of all, it can be plainly seen that there are 14 works listed, not 13 as K would have it. In the second place, 'from the *Gupin* to the *Neizang pin*'--if we take the 以下 as inclusive of the *Gupin*--there are ten works, not nine; but of those ten there is one of which Dao'an certainly did not say that it 'appeared' to be a translation by Lokakṣema: No. 6, which Sengyou describes as not being in the *An-lu* (i.e. the *Dao'an lu*). Therefore, these two discrepancies are no doubt to be explained by the fact that Sengyou inserted the *Guangming sanmei jing* as an afterthought.[44] A further problem concerns the probable identity of Nos. 5 (*Gupin*) and 8 (*Baoji*)--both titles refer in all likelihood to the first Chinese translation of the *KP* (preserved as T.350, *Yiri moni-bao jing* 遺日摩尼寶經), and were identified as such by later catalogues (e.g. *Kaiyuan lu*, 478c10-12).

The variant in this passage that most closely concerns us is, of course, that pertaining to the number of *juan* given for the *BZSMJ* (No. 3). If it is one *juan*, then the total of 27 *juan* given for the entire corpus is correct; two *juan*, and this figure is in error. Yet elsewhere in the *Sengyou lu* Lokakṣema's version of the *BZSMJ* is given as two *juan* in length (14b20)! The reading of one *juan* is obviously something that was not introduced by the editors of the Korean edition, or their immediate predecessors, since even Zhisheng, writing in 730, is able to say in his section on Lokakṣema (478c27): '...You [i.e. Sengyou] has this one-*juan* but does not have the three-*juan*.' Furthermore, the ascription of a one-*juan* version to Lokakṣema made by the more careful catalogues such as the *Fajing lu* (120a23) and the *Renshou lu* (176a24), without a two-*juan* version by him being mentioned at the same time, provides

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i.e. I would uphold the traditional attribution for the archaic translations of the *KP* and the *Druma* (Nos. 5/8 and 4), but question it for No. 12 and qualify it for No. 3. See Harrison: 1987: 68-72 & forthcoming (a) for details, including references to recent studies of many of the texts in question. For No. 14 in particular see also Harrison 1982, for No. 12 Dantinne 1983 (Dantinne does not question Lokakṣema's authorship of T.313). Nos. 2, 6, 10 and 13 have been lost, but other early versions of Nos. 6 and 10 have been preserved which should indicate roughly what form the texts had in Lokakṣema's day. Only No. 13 has disappeared without trace; all the other works except No. 9 exist in Tibetan or later Chinese translations.

44 This explanation is also favoured by Tokiwa (1939: 489, 496-497).

additional confirmation that no such two-*juan* version appeared in early editions of the *Sengyou lu*. At the same time it can be argued that Sengyou is not likely to have listed a one-*juan* work as the ***Da** banzhou sanmei jing*, that this figure of one *juan* is at odds with the figure of two *juan* which he gives elsewhere, and that if the *Guangming sanmei jing* was in fact inserted later, then two *juan* for the *BZSMJ* would not have been inconsistent with the total *juan* count for all 13 works initially listed. It is difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion on this matter, but I have tentatively opted for the reading of 'one *juan*' on the basis of the citations in most of the later catalogues. The two-*juan* count given elsewhere in the *Sengyou lu* is therefore to be corrected.

Leaving this problem for the time being, Sengyou's entry on the *BZSMJ* indicates that Dao'an definitely ascribed a translation entitled *BZSMJ* to Lokakṣema; that a *Da banzhou sanmei jing* was also ascribed to Lokakṣema by the *Jiu-lu*;[45] that Lokakṣema translated his text (or published the completed translation?) on the eighth day of the tenth month, 179 C.E. (on the same day as that on which he brought out the *DXJ*!); and that c. 515 there was a version in one *juan* (or possibly two) which Sengyou identified with the above.

As for the date of the translation, Sengyou appears to have derived this from an old colophon to the *BZSMJ* which he has preserved for us elsewhere in his catalogue (48c9-16):

> Colophon to the *Banzhou sanmei jing*, author unknown.
>
> The *Banzhou sanmei jing*, translated on the eighth day of the tenth month of Guanghe II by the Indian (天竺) *bodhisattva* Zhu Foshuo 竺佛朔 [K: Shuofo] in Luoyang. The *bodhisattva* Fahu [?].[46] At that time the person who transmitted the wording was the Indo-scythian *bodhisattva* Zhi Chan, who imparted it to Meng Fu 孟福, styled Yuanshi 元士, of Luoyang in Henan. The *bodhisattva*'s attendant, Zhang Lian 張蓮, styled Shao'an 少安,[47] took it down in writing and caused it subsequently to be disseminated (普著).

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[45] This militates against the theory that his translation consisted of only the first six chapters, since no partial translation would be known as *Da*, i.e. 'greater' or 'larger'.

[46] The appearance in the colophon of 'the *bodhisattva* Fahu' (Dharmarakṣa?) is most problematical. It is perhaps a later interpolation, since it does not seem to be related grammatically to the surrounding text--but the syntax of the whole passage is far from clear.

[47] On these two assistants of Lokakṣema, see Zürcher 1959: 35 & n. 91.

> Revised and completed [or: completely revised] in Jian'an XIII [208 C.E.] at the Buddhist monastery (佛寺). All who copy it in future will render homage to the Buddha.

> It is also said: revised at the Xuchang monastery (許昌寺)[48] on the eighth day of the eighth month of Jian'an III [= 198: correct to Jian'an XIII!], in the year Wu-zi 戊子 [208].[49]

Apart from giving us the date, this colophon also tells us that Lokakṣema translated the text in collaboration with Zhu Foshuo (the variant Shuofo is to be rejected as inherently improbable), an Indian who was also involved in the translation of the *Aṣṭa*, the text of which he had brought with him from India to China. It is also possible that he had brought the manuscript of the *PraS* at the same time. According to the colophon Zhu Foshuo recited the text in the

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48 Professor Henri Maspero's theory as to the identity of this 'Xuchang monastery' (1934: 87-107; see also Maspero 1950: 188-189; I have not had access to Maspero 1934, but the gist of it is cited in Zürcher 1959: 32; see also *ibid.* 28, n. 57) is ingenious but ultimately unconvincing, founded as it is on pure surmise. Further, the conclusions he drew regarding the early Buddhist community in Luoyang--solely on the basis of this colophon--are far too tenuous, as Zürcher has pointed out, and must be reconsidered. I am more inclined to agree with Tang (1938: 68) that the colophon refers to a Buddhist monastery in the city of Xu 許 (present-day Xuchang in Henan Province, some 80 km south of Zhengzhou). Luoyang had been abandoned in ruins in 190, and the Imperial Court had moved first to Chang'an, then in 196 to Xu, which remained the Han capital until the end of the dynasty. It is much more likely that the Buddhist community had moved with the rest of the population--or rather with the foreign merchants and envoys who no doubt followed the government--and that in 208 the translators (possibly led by Zhi Liang, Lokakṣema's disciple) were pursuing their work in Xu, rather than that they had remained in the ruined Luoyang, as Maspero would have us believe. As has been pointed out before, Xu was not renamed Xuchang until 221, and therefore the use of the name Xuchang in a colophon referring to the year 208 is an anachronism. Yet this, I think, merely reflects the fact that the last part of the colophon was appended, as Tang suggests (loc. cit.), during the Wei period, by which time the city was commonly known as Xuchang. As can be seen, then, the colophon consists of three parts: the first describing the initial translation of 179; the second referring to the revision of 208; and the third added subsequently ('It is also said') to specify in more detail the time and place of the revision.

For information concerning the removal of the Han capital to Xu and the later renaming of that city I am indebted to Ken Gardiner and Rafe de Crespigny.

49 For an alternative translation, see Tsukamoto 1985: 106-7.

original language, while Lokakṣema translated it orally into Chinese for his Chinese assistants to take down in writing. This at least is what can be inferred on the basis of this colophon and that of the *DXJ*. Zhu Foshuo was also credited with his own partial translation of the *Aṣṭa*--the *Daoxing jing* in one *juan*--by the *Sengyou lu* (6b7), an attribution that may or may not have some basis in fact. However, the additional attribution to him of a separate translation of the *PraS* is a later invention, originally perpetrated by Fei Changfang (see *Sanbao ji*, 53c7-15). Although Fei cites the *Gaoseng zhuan* as his source, the supplementary information he gives demonstrates that the *Sengyou lu* (see below) is the origin of the information: 'later, in the Guanghe period, he again translated the *Banzhou*. Chan transmitted the wording. Meng Fu, Zhang Lian and others took it down in writing.' Thus two translations are made out of one, a common occurrence in the *Sanbao ji*.

Additional documentary evidence for the attribution of the *BZSMJ* to Lokakṣema can be found in another colophon preserved in the *Sengyou lu*, that written by Zhi Mindu (active in the reign of the Eastern Jin Emperor Cheng, 326-342) to a synoptic edition of the *Śgs* (see *Sengyou lu*, 49a16ff.). Zhi Mindu begins:

> This *sūtra* originally had a colophon saying 'Translated by Zhi Chan.' Chan was an Indo-scythian, who came and resided in China under the reigns of Huan and Ling of the Han. His wide learning was profound and marvellous; his gifted mind fathomed the subtle. All the *sūtras* which he translated are of a very deep and mysterious kind. He regarded the essential content as important, and did not preserve the literary embellishments. The current *Xiaopin* 小品 [*Aṣṭa*], *Azheshi* [*Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā*], *Dunzhen* [*Druma*] and *Banzhou* are all translations by Chan.
>
> There was also Zhi Yue 支越, styled Gongming [i.e. Zhi Qian 支謙, circa 193-253?]. He was also an Indo-scythian. His father had also come to China to offer tribute in the reign of Emperor Ling of the Han. Yue was born in China. It appears that he did not see Chan. There was also Zhi Liang 支亮, styled Jiming 紀明, who studied under Chan; therefore Yue was able to receive instruction from Liang...

Apart from the two colophons cited above, and that of the *DXJ* (see *Sengyou lu*, 47c4-9), there is very little other information preserved concerning Lokakṣema and his colleague Zhu Foshuo. Sengyou has summed it up in their biographies (95c22-96a7):

> Zhi Chan was originally a man of the kingdom of the Indo-scythians. His moral conduct was deeply sincere, and his temperament was open and lively. He upheld the Dharma and Vinaya and was renowned for his industriousness. He recited all kinds of *sūtras*, and his ambition was to preserve and to propagate the Dharma. At the close of the reign of Emperor Huan [circa 167] of the Han he arrived in Luoyang, and during the periods of Guanghe [178-183] and Zhongping [184-189] under the Emperor Ling he transmitted and translated Indian texts, publishing three *sūtras*: the *Banruo daoxing-pin*, the *Shoulengyan* and the *Banzhou sanmei*. There are also ten *sūtras* such as the *Azheshi wang*, the *Baoji*, etc., which for years had not been catalogued. An Gong, comparing the old and the new and carefully examining the literary style, said that they appeared to be translated by Chan. All these *sūtras* have caught the gist of the original without adding any embellishments to it. It can be said that here was a man who skilfully conveyed the essentials of the Dharma and propagated the Way. Afterwards it was not known where he died.[50]
>
> The *śramaṇa* Zhu Foshuo was an Indian. In the time of the Han Emperor Huan he arrived in Luoyang, bringing with him the *Daoxing jing*, which he translated from the Indian into Chinese. The translator has occasionally faltered, but although there is some loss of meaning, nevertheless he has sacrificed the wording and kept the substance, and has a profound grasp of the sense of the *sūtra*. In Guanghe II, under the Emperor Ling, Shuo also translated the *Banzhou sanmei jing* at Luoyang. At the time Chan acted as the transmitter of the wording, while Meng Fu of Luoyang in Henan and Zhang Lian took it down in writing.

This, as can be seen, is little more than an orderly restatement of what is found in the colophons and in Dao'an's catalogue.[51] It contains the stock judgement on Lokakṣema's (and Zhu Foshuo's) translations: that they captured the basic sense of the originals without bothering to reproduce their literary ornamentation. An examination of the *DXJ* and the *BZSMJ* bears this judgement out.

The attribution of a work entitled *BZSMJ* to Lokakṣema is thus well-established in the earliest sources. The only other extant text listed by Sengyou under that title is, of course, that ascribed to Dharmarakṣa.[52] In the section

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50 Cf. Tsukamoto 1985: 98.

51 For further additions to this meagre store, see Lamotte 1965: 69-72.

52 On the life and work of Dharmarakṣa, see Zürcher 1959: 65-70, Tang

dealing with the extant works of Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, *circa* 230-308) we find (8a1):

> The *Banzhou sanmei jing* in two *juan*; An Gong's catalogue says that it is a further translation[53] of the *Banzhou sanmei jing*.

This translation is mentioned again in that part of the *Sengyou lu* devoted to listing different translations of the same text (14b20-21):

> The *Banzhou sanmei jing*:
> Zhi Chan translated the *Banzhou sanmei jing* in two *juan*.
> Zhu Fahu translated the *Banzhou sanmei jing* in two *juan*.
>
> The above one *sūtra* was translated separately by two persons.

As Sengyou does not mention any other extant works entitled *BZSMJ*,[54] we must assume that in his day (*circa* 515) there were only two works of that name in circulation. If this is so, then we would be hard put to it to escape the conclusion that what was true less than a century later was also true in Sengyou's time: that of the two works in circulation, the longer version in two or three *juan* (corresponding to T.418) was popularly attributed to Dharmarakṣa, and the shorter version in one *juan* (T.417) was regarded as Lokakṣema's. For the *Fajing lu* (compiled in 593, but probably basing its testimony on an even earlier catalogue) attributes a two-*juan BZSMJ* to Dharmarakṣa (115c3), while listing the *BZSMJ* in one *juan* by Lokakṣema as a separate partial translation (120a23); in that it further describes the one-*juan* text as consisting of the 'last ten chapters' of the larger version, it identifies both texts with those two that we have today: although the 'last' is not readily

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1938: 157-164, and Tsukamoto 1985: 193-230.

53 The expression *geng-chu* 更出 is problematical. It is taken by most writers on the subject to mean 'another translation', but according to Shiio (1933: 219) the employment of this term in connection with other *sūtras* shows that it means 'revision'; but Shiio does not go into the question in detail. Hayashiya (1940: 407, nn. 13-15) takes the usual view when he states that it signifies 'second translation', but if this is so, why has Dao'an not applied it to all translations of *sūtras* for which previous versions existed? The matter certainly needs further investigation.

54 Note, however, in the *Sengyou lu* at 37b2, among the lost texts in the section entitled 'Newly compiled supplementary catalogue of miscellaneous anonymous *sūtras*', the text entitled *Yichu banzhou sanmei jing* 異出般舟三昧經 ('A different translation of the *BZSMJ*') in one *juan*. This entry suggests an earlier catalogue's listing of the present T.417.

comprehensible, T.417 does indeed consist of eight *pin* which summarise the material covered by ten *pin* in T.418 (see also 120a24-26 for further confirmation of this identification). It is in my view highly probable that this situation obtained in Sengyou's day as well.[55]

After its appearance in the *Fajing lu* the *BZSMJ* in one *juan* attributed to Lokakṣema drops out of sight. The *Sanbao ji* does not mention it, while the *Renshou lu* has it as a lost text (176a24), as do the *Jingtai lu* (213c26) and the *Dazhou lu* (443c25). The *Kaiyuan lu* lists it among the lost works of Lokakṣema with the words (478c20-21):

> The *Banzhou sanmei jing* in one *juan*; consists of a further translation of the last ten chapters; You has this one-*juan* [text] but not the three-*juan*; see the *Jingtai lu*; sometimes the character *Da* 大 is added; the third translation; the *You-lu* says: translated on the eighth of the tenth, Guanghe II.

The *BZSMJ* in one *juan* remained out of sight. It does not appear in the Song, Yuan or Ming editions of the Canon, nor in the Jisha edition. But somehow it was not entirely lost, and it surfaced in the Korean edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, whence it has found its way into the *Taishō* as T.417. How exactly it managed to do this remains a mystery.

Returning now to the question of the larger *BZSMJ*, there are two points to be noted. One is that the extant two- or three-*juan* version (in all probability Redaction B) continued to be ascribed to Dharmarakṣa up until Zhisheng's time (eighth century), while the other point is that Lokakṣema came to be credited with his own two-*juan* version of the *sūtra* in addition to the (temporarily) lost one-*juan* text.

The first extant catalogue after the *Sengyou lu* (of which the text is doubtful) to ascribe a two-*juan* version to Lokakṣema was the notoriously unreliable *Sanbao ji* (52c27-53a1):

> The *Banzhou sanmei jing* in two *juan*; translated on the eighth of the tenth, Guanghe II; the first translation; see the *Nie Dao lu*, the *Wu-lu*, and the *Sanzang ji* [SYM: see the three catalogues of Nie

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55 The alternative to this, if we accept the reading of 'two *juan*' for the *Sengyou lu*, is that Sengyou did not know of the abridged version, but was familiar only with two full versions of the *PraS*, one being the original translation by Lokakṣema (i.e. the complete text of Redaction A), the other being either Redaction B or the translation X on which B was based, this being ascribed to Dharmarakṣa.

> Daozhen, the Wu, and You]. The *Jiu-lu* says: *Da banzhou sanmei jing*.

Whether Fei Changfang's copy of the *Sengyou lu* had the variant reading of 'two *juan*' it is impossible to say, for he may have derived the *juan* count from another source. But the date and the alternative title come from the *Sengyou lu*. The *Sanbao ji* also gives the two-*juan* version of Dharmarakṣa (62c3), but adds no new information. It does not tell us whether both these translations were extant, but in the section entitled 'Mahāyāna *sūtras* with known translators', the *BZSMJ* in two *juan* is mentioned only once (110b9).

The situation over the following centuries demonstrates the problem of the 'lineage' of the Chinese catalogues. The more reliable among them, those that are based on the *Sengyou lu* (of which the *Fajing lu* is the first), list the extant two- or three-*juan* version of Dharmarakṣa and (as we have seen) the lost one-*juan* version of Lokakṣema--see e.g. the *Renshou lu* (151b26) and the *Jingtai lu* (182c12) which list Dharmarakṣa's version as a *danben*, i.e. a text of which there exists only one full translation; the *Jingtai lu* also gives the text as being 47 pages long, which accords pretty well with the present T.418, which occupies approximately 50 columns in the *Taishō*. The less reliable catalogues, those which accept the testimony of the *Sanbao ji* at face value and attempt to combine it with what they find in other catalogues, continue to list two- or three-*juan* translations for both Dharmarakṣa and Lokakṣema, as well as giving the one-*juan* version for the latter. The *Dazhou lu*, for example, even gives a page count for both texts, 47 for Dharmarakṣa's and 57 for Lokakṣema's (388b13-27), but since Dharmarakṣa's version is the only one it lists as extant (see 442c8; 462b6) we are bound to regard the latter figure as a complete fabrication.[56]

In compiling the *Kaiyuan lu* Zhisheng overturned the prevalent attribution of the existing complete version of the *PraS* to Dharmarakṣa. Dharmarakṣa's translation he lists as lost (495b12), while assigning the extant three-*juan* version to Lokakṣema, on the basis perhaps both of internal evidence and of the testimony of Nie Daozhen's catalogue and the *Wu-lu* as recorded by Fei Changfang (478c9-10):

> The *Banzhou sanmei jing* in three *juan*; one name is the *Shifang xianzai-fo xi zaiqianli ding jing* 十方現在佛悉在前立定經; the *Jiu-lu* says: *Da banzhou sanmei jing*; alternatively in two

56 Cf. Hayashiya 1945: 556.

[SYM: one] *juan*; translated in Guanghe II; the first translation; same text as the *Daji xianhu jing*, etc.; see Nie Daozhen's catalogue and the *Wu-lu*.

Elsewhere (681c7-8) the same text ('alternatively **two** *juan*') is given as 50 pages long, tallying exactly with the number of *Taishō* columns which it now occupies.

Zhisheng's pronouncement on this text has been regarded as final by all editors of the Chinese Tripiṭaka down to the present day, and his ascription of the work to its rightful author is borne out by an examination of its style. As for Dharmarakṣa's supposed translation, we have only Sengyou's word for that, since all later catalogues base themselves on him in this respect. Sengyou in his turn has relied solely upon Dao'an's testimony, and although Dao'an is usually very reliable, we must ask ourselves if such a translation ever existed in the first place. As we have observed (see above, n. 49), it is just possible that Dao'an was referring not to a new translation by Dharmarakṣa, but to a revision by him of a previous translation. Could Dao'an have ascribed Redaction B to Dharmarakṣa in the same way that succeeding generations of Chinese Buddhist scholars did? And could Dharmarakṣa actually have been responsible for Redaction B? This is a question that can only be answered by a close examination of the style of the verse *gāthās* and the *nidāna* of the *BZSMJ*, together with a thorough study of the stylistic characteristics of the translations of Dharmarakṣa and Lokakṣema. However, as I have observed above, on preliminary indications Dharmarakṣa does not appear to be implicated, in that the general style of the relevant portions of B is closer to that of Lokakṣema's Redaction A than it is to Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *SP*. In view of this I believe that it is highly likely that Redaction B was in fact produced by the revision which the colophon to the *BZSMJ* tells us took place in the year 208, in the Han capital of Xu(chang). If the text was originally translated in 179, then 29 years is too long a period for it to have been a question of the stylistic 'touching-up' which usually completed the translation process. Rather, a major revision is indicated, and in 208 this could well have been carried out by members of Lokakṣema's school who were more familiar with Chinese than their master had been, who were thus able to translate *gāthās* into unrhymed Chinese verse and make use of a more sinicised vocabulary (as employed some years later by Zhi Qian, who may have been a student under Zhi Liang around this time), and who had at their disposal a slightly different MS of the *PraS*.

Of course much must remain undecided. Dharmarakṣa's part--if indeed

he ever played one--in the transmission of the *PraS* to China is still hidden from us. It goes without saying that a great deal more work must be done on this period and its translation-literature. But as far as the origins of Redaction B of the *BZSMJ* is concerned, I doubt that we need ever look further than the revision of 208 C.E.

VIII. TRANSLATIONS POSSIBLY RELATED TO THE *PraS*

There are three more texts listed in the Chinese catalogues which may or may not be related to the *PraS*; all of them are first recorded in the *Sengyou lu*. None of them has survived, but for the sake of completeness it is worth mentioning them.

(a) *Banzhou sanmei nianfo-zhang jing* 般舟三昧念佛章經 (*Sūtra* of the *Buddhānusmṛti* Chapter of the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi*) in one *juan*.

This makes its first appearance in that section of the *Sengyou lu* entitled 'Newly compiled supplementary catalogue of miscellaneous anonymous *sūtras*' (新集續撰失譯雜經錄), from which we can infer that it was not mentioned by Dao'an. The text is listed at 30c1, and is extant (see 32a1-2). It next appears in the *Fajing lu* (120a25), where it is called the *Fo-shuo* 佛說 *banzhou sanmei nianfo-zhang jing*, and described as a separate translation of the *Xing-pin* 行品 of the large version. It must therefore have been available to one of Fajing's sources. Later catalogues record it as lost (see e.g. the *Renshou lu*, 176a25; the *Jingtai lu*, 213c27) and provide no new information about it, if we except those unfounded guesses as to its date which stem from the *Sanbao ji*--which assigns it both to the Han (55b18) and to the Eastern Jin (74b17)! Since it does not appear to have been in the *Dao'an lu* it may even have been produced as late as the fifth century.

As the title suggests and the evidence of the *Fajing lu* confirms, this text contained only that portion of the *PraS* corresponding to the *Xing-pin* of the *BZSMJ* (i.e. 2D-J, 3A-O). In view of this, attempts by certain scholars to identify the work with one or other surviving partial version of the *PraS* (i.e. with T.417 or T.419) remain totally unconvincing;[57] furthermore, they fail to take into account the fact that all three texts appear side by side in the *Fajing lu*, which suggests that Fajing's source, to whom they were presumably available, was unable to identify any one of them with any other.

(b) *Xiao-an banzhou sanmei jing* 小安般舟三昧經 in one *juan*.

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57 E.g. Hayashiya (1945: 573-574) suggests that the *Nianfo-zhang jing* could be identical with the *Bapo pusa jing*.

This first appears in the *Sengyou lu* at 36c27, in the same section as (a), but it is grouped with the lost works, and the entry is accompanied by the notice 'Listed in the *Jiu-lu*.' If the *Jiu-lu* here refers to Zhu Daozu's catalogue (*circa* 419), then the text is to be dated to the fourth century or earlier; later cataloguers, in repeating Sengyou's entry, assign it to the Wei-Wu period (20-277). The text is listed sometimes as a lost Mahāyāna work, sometimes as a lost 'Hīnayāna' work (see e.g. *Fajing lu*, 121a25; *Sanbao ji*, 61a23; *Renshou lu*, 176c2; *Kaiyuan lu*, 492c5, 644b3). To the best of my knowledge no cataloguer ever attempts to relate this text to the *BZSMJ*.

Nevertheless Hayashiya (1945: 564-567) tries to identify this work with the present T.417, arguing that if the *Jiu-lu* had a *Da banzhou sanmei jing* (cf. *Sengyou lu*, 6b12) it ought by rights to have had a *Xiao banzhou sanmei jing* (the *an* being a later scribal blunder). This is plausible, but in the end there is insufficient evidence. One could with almost equal plausibility claim that *Xiao-an banzhou sanmei jing* was a scribal error for *Xiao-anban shouyi jing* 小安般守意經, or perhaps that *xiao* 小 could have been miswritten for *shao* 少, the *Shao'an banzhou sanmei jing* 少安般舟三昧經 being a version of Lokaksema's translation distinguished from others by the 'style' of its copyist, Zhang Lian (see colophon cited above). In any case we would do well to view with suspicion any conclusion to which even cataloguers like Fei Changfang refused to jump.

(c) *Fatuo pusa baiershi nan jing* 颰陀菩薩百二十難經 (*Sūtra* of the One Hundred and Twenty Questions of the *Bodhisattva* Bhadra[pāla?]) in one *juan*.

Appears in the same section of the *Sengyou lu* as (b), i.e. as a lost anonymous work (32c13). This could conceivably be an alternative title of one of the early Chinese translations of the *PraS*. In the Tib. text Bhadrapāla's 'question' can be divided into 146 items (see Chap. 1 of the English translation), but for an earlier form of the work a division into 120 items is quite possible.

Any of the above three texts could have been the source for the two passages in T.417 which are not based on the *BZSMJ* in three *juan*.

IX. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As any readers hardy enough to make it to this point will now have seen for themselves, the textual history of the *PraS* in China is complicated both by the confused nature of the surviving material (the edited texts) and by the welter of information and misinformation furnished by Chinese Buddhist bibliographers. We can indeed extract some facts of reasonable certainty from this chaos, but we cannot impose total order upon it. In our discussion of the evidence we have foreshadowed the following conclusions, which must in many instances be regarded as tentative.

In 179 C.E., in the Han capital of Luoyang, the Indo-scythian Lokakṣema and the Indian Zhu Foshuo collaborated on the first Chinese translation of the *PraS*, the *BZSMJ* in two (later three) *juan* and sixteen *pin*. This original translation was distinguished by the rudimentary *nidāna* and the prose renditions of the *gāthās* which are characteristic of Lokakṣema's other work. While the latter feature is simply a stylistic peculiarity, the former possibly indicates an earlier stage in the composition of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, when their authors were unwilling to attach to them the usual mark of canonical authenticity. We have called this early version Redaction A.

In 208 the translation was completely revised, possibly by members of Lokakṣema's school under the direction of his disciple Zhi Liang, at the Buddhist monastery in Xu(chang), the city to which political disturbances at the end of the second century had forced the Han government to shift the capital. It was perhaps at this time--although it could have been later in the third century--that the initial version had its prose *gāthās* replaced by a completely new verse translation from the Sanskrit, while the *nidāna* was altered. Thus Redaction B came into being. We may assume that this was done in the light of a slightly different Indic text of the *PraS* (hence, for example, the more developed *nidāna*), i.e. that Redaction B is not merely a polishing of Redaction A, but at our present stage of knowledge we cannot determine whether the author(s) of Redaction B had direct access to the Indic text, or indirect access, i.e. whether they conflated Redaction A with a completely different translation (the hypothetical X). Nor can we determine the identity of the author(s).

From its diction, from several meagre structural indications, and from its appearance in a certain section of Dao'an's catalogue, the partial translation

entitled *Bapo pusa jing* can be regarded as having been made no later than the third century C.E., and as representing the original Indic text in a form somewhere between A and B. Its author is as yet unknown.

Other partial translations of the *PraS* may have been made in these early centuries.

At some stage, possibly in the fourth or fifth centuries, an unknown hand compiled an abridgement of Redaction B of the *BZSMJ*, incorporating a small amount of extra material either composed for the occasion or taken from another (perhaps partial) translation of the *PraS.* The resulting text soon came to be attributed to Lokakṣema, while the larger work on which it was based was regarded for several centuries as due to Dharmarakṣa. The abridged version disappeared from view around the beginning of the 7th century, but somehow found its way into the Korean edition of the Chinese Tripitaka. It survives now as T.417.

In the early months of the year 595, in Chang'an, the capital of the Sui Dynasty, the Indian monks Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta made a new translation of the *PraS*, which by this time was regarded as part of the great *sūtra*-collection called the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra.* Although their translation is generally fuller and more detailed than former versions, it nevertheless reveals that the basic structure of the *sūtra* had not changed appreciably since Lokakṣema's time, except for the partial omission of material relating to women.

By the eighth century only three versions of the *PraS* appear to have been in common use in China: the *BZSMJ* in two or three *juan* (Redaction B), once more ascribed--thanks to Zhisheng--to Lokakṣema; the *Xianhu jing* of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta; and the anonymous *Bapo pusa jing.*

By the beginning of the ninth century the *PraS* had been translated into Tibetan, in a form, however, which differs considerably from that which the Chinese versions reveal. The later portions of the work have been substantially re-organised, and new material, much of it of a more 'philosophical' nature, has been inserted.

When the editors of the Korean Tripiṭaka, or perhaps their predecessors under the Liao or the Northern Song came to consider the Chinese versions of the *PraS*, they appear to have had at their disposal a fragment of Lokakṣema's original *BZSMJ* (Redaction A). This they amalgamated with the current

Redaction B of the same text.[58] In China, however, if any versions of this early redaction existed at all, they were ignored by compilers of various editions of the Chinese Canon, who continued to rely solely on Redaction B.

The above scenaro is, it seems to me, the most likely one that can be inferred from the existing data. Over the many centuries the text of the *PraS* has displayed a protean fluidity, so much so that no two known versions have the same form, nor can any one text be regarded as a direct descendant of another. Thus T.416 agrees sometimes with T.418, sometimes with the Tibetan; occasionally T.418 and the Tibetan have material in common which is not found in T.416; and so on. For this reason it is impossible to draw up even the most rudimentary *stemma codicum*. The best we can do is note that there appear to be three principal lines of descent from the archetype, if such ever existed. One is represented by the Tibetan, the second by T.418, the third by T.416. T.419 falls somewhere between the second and the third; and with the third we should probably group the Sanskrit fragment (see Appendix B) and the text of the *PraS* as cited in the *SZPPSL*.

Further light might be thrown on the textual history of the *PraS* if one were to erect proper critical editions of both Redactions of the *BZSMJ* with the aid of T.417 and all other available editions and MSS of the text; make a thorough study of the stylistic characteristics of the translations made by Lokakṣema, Dharmarakṣa and their contemporaries, and then examine the *BZSMJ* in the light of that study's findings; and hunt down all references to and citations from the text in Chinese and Japanese commentaries, in order to determine whether or not any of them point to currently unknown translations of the text, or elucidate the history of those translations which are known to us.

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[58] It is this conflated version (K), the base text of T.418, which I have translated into English; see Harrison: forthcoming (b).

APPENDIX B

THE SANSKRIT FRAGMENT

OF THE

PRATYUTPANNA-BUDDHA-

SAṂMUKHĀVASTHITA-SAMĀDHI-SŪTRA

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Around the beginning of this century a Sanskrit fragment of the *PraS*, consisting of a single partially damaged paper folio, was found in Central Asia, possibly at Khadalik, a site approximately 70 miles east of Khotan. Designated as 'Hoernle MS., No. 143, S.A. 3', it now rests in the India Office Library in London.

The text of the fragment, which corresponds to the latter half of Chapter 14 in the Tibetan version, was first published in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, ed., *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature* (Oxford: 1916), pp. 88-93, described, transcribed and translated by F.W. Thomas, with additional notes appended by Hoernle. Thomas's description of the folio runs as follows:

> This is a practically complete folio, measuring about 393 x 118 mm. (or 15 1/4 x 4 1/2 inches). The right-hand half, however, has suffered damage and loss of text, from which even the left has not been entirely free. The latter shows the customary hole for the string within a circle of about 27 mm. (or 1 1/16 inches) diameter, and at the distance of 103 mm. (or 3 7/8 inches) from the left edge. The folio has practically nothing of the usual margins on the left and right; and its number, 28, now rather defaced, is placed at the left edge of the reverse side. The paper is soft, and has a brownish colour. There are ten lines of writing on the page, in Upright Gupta characters, originally good, but now much defaced by sand-rubbing, especially on the extreme right quarter of both sides, where some of the letters have become entirely illegible.

Thomas's and Hoernle's notes on the language of the text now stand in need of revision in the light of recent researches into 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit', which have followed the trail blazed by Franklin Edgerton. A more up-to-date discussion of the linguistic features of the MS may be found in Kagawa 1962; in this article Kagawa also makes some observations comparing the Sanskrit fragment with the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *PraS*.

It was in 1978 that I first used a photograph of the MS made by the I.O.L. and kindly placed at my disposal by J.W. de Jong to verify Thomas's transcription. I found it well executed, although it seemed to me even then that a more careful consideration of the Tibetan and Chinese texts and of the metre of the verses might enable more of the text to be restored.[1] Subsequently, in 1980, I had the opportunity to visit the I.O.L., where, through the good offices of the present Deputy Librarian, Mr Michael O'Keefe, I was able to study the

MS itself, which I found to be much more legible than I had expected. At the same time I obtained clearer photographs of the MS, which are reproduced on the following pages with the kind permission of the British Library Board. The results of my own study of the MS are set out below. They represent a modest advance on what Thomas and Hoernle were able to achieve when the MS first came to light.

As far as the verses are concerned, the MS contains 15 *gāthās* out of the total of 16 which appear at the close of Chap. 14; these 15 appear in the same order as they do in the Tibetan and Chinese versions. The metre is *triṣṭubh-jagatī*, i.e. a random mixture of lines of 11 syllables (Indravajrā, Upendravajrā) and lines of 12 syllables (Indravaṃśā, Vaṃśasthā). The verses demonstrate the same peculiarities noted by Edgerton for the verses of the *SP* (see Edgerton 1935 & 1946). Particularly noticeable is the fact that initial consonant combinations are treated for metrical purposes as single consonants; see e.g. Verses 3d, 4d, 5b, 6d, 7d, 8b, etc.

The language of the text, particularly in the verses, exhibits all the characteristics of BHS as described by Edgerton in his *BHSG*. The prose is written in a Sanskrit which is somewhat more regular, although its vocabulary is very much BHS. There are several examples of non-standard usage to be noted: *pi* for *api*, *passim*; *supina* for *svapna*, a4; *tāyāṃ* for *tasyāṃ*, a7; *śikṣeya* and *pratipadyeya* for *śikṣet* and *pratipadyet*, a7. Of course it is always difficult to decide how much is merely due to scribal idiosyncrasies or lapses.

In presenting a fresh transcription of the MS the following conventions have been adopted:

(1) *Akṣaras* which are clearly legible are in **bold** type.

(2) *Akṣaras* which are partially legible are in plain type.

(3) *Akṣaras* which are totally or almost totally illegible due to fading or holes in the MS are marked by X's, but in those instances where a reconstruction can be conjectured, the restored *akṣaras* appear in plain type within square brackets. In the verses, missing *akṣaras* which cannot be restored are marked not by X's, but by the required metrical signs, viz. ¯ and ˘.

(4) Line nos. (a = recto; b = verso) appear within parentheses.

(5) Although I have eliminated the more obvious orthographical peculiarities and scribal lapses from the text, these are always noted in the critical apparatus.

The transcription of the MS is divided into sections corresponding to those of the Tibetan text. After each section and its critical apparatus may be

found English translations of the Sanskrit and of the two Chinese versions, T. 418 and T.416. In the interests of providing an accurate basis for comparison of the different versions, these translations are more than usually literal; I have, for example, retained the masculine singular in them unless there are indications to the contrary. T.417 is not included, as it merely condenses the prose of T.418 (it contains none of the verses of Chap. 14). The reader may also refer to *Text* for the Tibetan version, and to the English translation of this which appears in the present work.

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1 Thomas had indeed looked at the Tibetan translation, but the alternative readings he suggested for some of the verses on the basis of it (see Hoernle 1918: 410-411) are to be disregarded, since they take into account neither the metre required nor those *akṣaras* which can be made out in the lines in question.

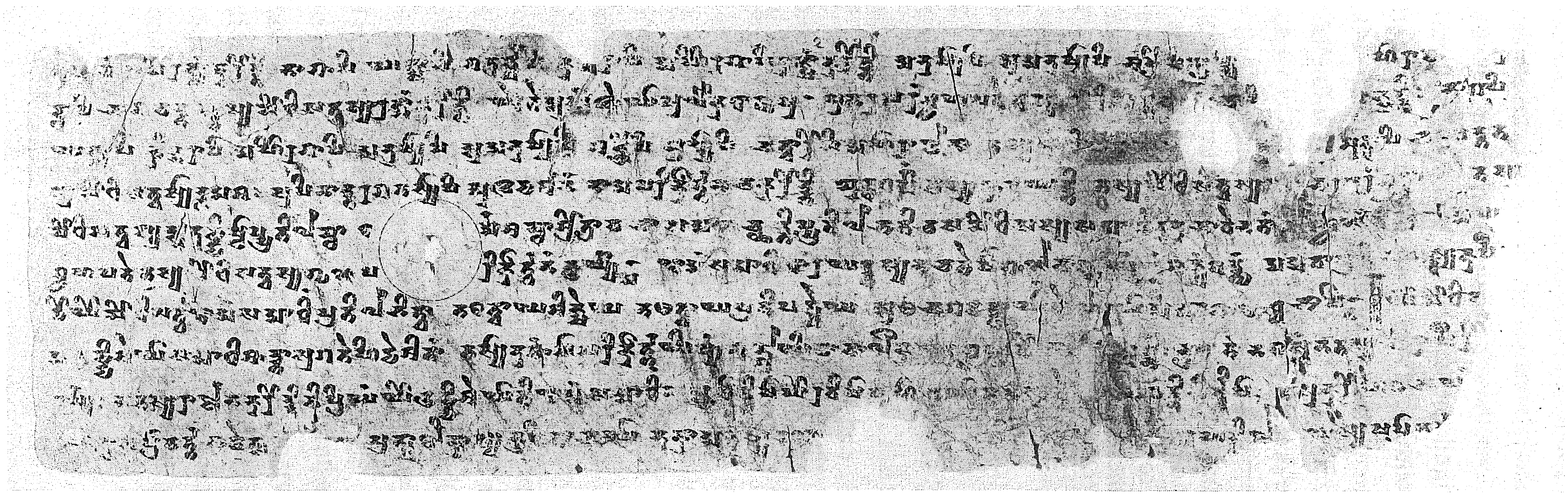


Plate 1 : Hoernle MS., No. 143, S.A. 3, *recto*

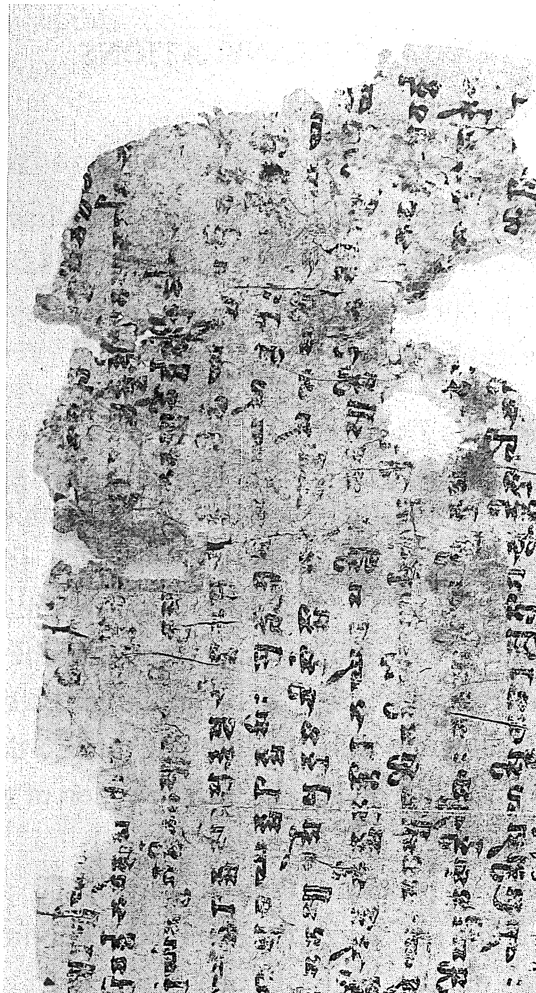


Plate 2 : Hoernle MS, No. 143, S.A. 3, *verso*

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS

[14E]

(a1) tvasya **de**[vā] **pi rakṣāṃ** karonti **nāgā pi yak**ṣā pi **gandharvā**[1] pi **k**[inna]rā **pi** **mahoragā pi** rak**ṣāṃ karonti manuṣyā** pi **amanuṣyā pi ś**akro pi brahmā [pi catvāro pi ma]**hārā**[jānā][2] bu(a2)**ddhā pi bhagavantas tasya bodhisatvasya rakṣāṃ** karonti **ye te asaṃ**khye**yāsu lokadhātuṣu.**

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1 MS has *gandharvbā* (see Hoernle 1918: 89, n. 2).

2 Restored on the basis of a3 below, q.v. The lower part of a *j* is just visible.

'Of that *bodhisattva* the *devas* also undertake the protection. The *nāgas* also, the *yakṣas* also, the *gandharvas* also, the *kinnaras* also, the *mahoragas* also undertake the protection. Human beings also, the *amanuṣyas* also, Śakra also, Brahmā also, the Four Great Kings also, the Buddhas and Lords also, those who are in incalculable world-systems, undertake the protection of that *bodhisattva*.'

T.418: 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, this *bodhisattva* is protected by the gods; is protected by the dragons. The Four Divine Kings, Śakra *devānām indra*, and the god Brahmā Sahāṃpati all protect this *bodhisattva*. The *yakṣa*-spirits, the *gandharva*-spirits, the *asura*-spirits, the *garuḍa*-spirits, the *kinnara*-spirits, the *mahoraga*-spirits, human beings and non-human beings, they all protect this *bodhisattva* together. The Buddhas and Gods-among-the-gods all protect this *bodhisattva* together.'

T. 416: 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, because of the power of the *sūtra* those men and women of good family are always protected by all the gods. Similarly they are always protected by all the dragons, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, human beings and non-human beings. They are also protected by all the Four Great Divine Kings and similarly by the King of the Trayastriṃśa-gods, up to: by the Divine King Mahābrahmā; and similarly always by all the *bodhisattvas*, up to: by all the Buddhas and Lords--they all shelter those who manifest and uphold the Dharma in the worlds in the ten quarters, in immeasurable

asaṃkhyeya worlds.'

[14H]

punar aparaṃ gṛhapate tasya [b]o[dh]**i**[satvasya] **d**[e]vā pi [darśanaṃ kāṅ]kṣ**anti**[1] **: nāgā**[2] **pi** (a3) **yak**ṣā **pi** kinnar**ā pi mahoragā pi manuṣyā pi amanuṣyā** pi **śakro** pi **brahmā pi catvāro pi mahārājānā** tasya [bo]**dhi**[satvasya darśanaṃ kāṅkṣanti][3] buddhā **pi** bha[ga]v**anta ta**(a4)sya **bodhisatvasyāntamaśaḥ supinā**ntaragatasyāpi **mukhadarśanaṃ nāmaparikīrtana**[ṃ][4] **ca karonti buddhadharmāṃ** cānuśrāva**yanti**[5] **tasya** bo**dhisatvasya.**

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1. Supported by Tib. *lta bar 'dod do*; cf. also T.418, T.416 below.

2. The *akṣaras gā* and *pi* have been run together.

3. See n. 1. The antepenultimate *akṣara* has the hook common to *ka*, as well as to certain other letters, e.g. *su* and *ṣu*.

4. MS has *-parikīrttana*.

5. Thomas reads *cāsya śrāvayanti*, and may be correct. The MS is certainly very unclear.

'Furthermore, householder, the *devas* also long for the sight of that *bodhisattva*. The *nāgas* also, the *yakṣas* also, the *kinnaras* also, the *mahoragas* also, human beings also, the *amanuṣyas* also, Śakra also, Brahmā also, and the Four Great Kings also long for the sight of that *bodhisattva*. The Buddhas and Lords also show their faces and announce their names to that *bodhisattva*, even if it is only when he is dreaming, and they cause that *bodhisattva* to hear the Buddha-dharmas.'

T.418: 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for this *bodhisattva*, all the gods wish to see him. The dragons, the *yakṣa*-spirits, the *gandharva*-spirits, the *asura*-spirits, the *garuḍa*-spirits, the *kinnara*-spirits, the *mahoraga*-spirits, human beings and non-human beings, they all long and wish to see this *bodhisattva*. The Buddhas and Gods-among-the-gods all all individually wish to have this *bodhisattva* go to them, for the sake of humankind they wish to have him go. Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for this *bodhisattva*, all the gods come to him. The dragons, the *yakṣa*-spirits, the *gandharva*-spirits, the *asura*-spirits, the *garuḍa*-spirits, the *kinnara*-spirits, the *mahoraga*-spirits, human beings and non-human beings, they all come to this *bodhisattva*, and they all see each other. As for the Buddhas and

Gods-among-the-gods, the *bodhisattva* not only sees them by day, but at night in a dream he either sees the bodies of the Buddhas, or the Buddhas individually announce their own names.'

T. 416: 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for those sons and daughters of good family, because of the power of the *sūtra* all the gods wish to see them. Similarly all the dragons, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, human beings and non-human beings all long to see them. Also all those Four Great Divine Kings, similarly all the Kings of the Trayastriṃśa-Gods, up to: all the Divine Kings Mahābrahmā long to see them. Similarly all the *bodhisattvas*, up to: all the Buddhas and Lords wish to see them. Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for those sons and daughters of good family, because of the power of the *sūtra* all the gods always go to them and personally display their forms, causing them to see them. Similarly all the dragons, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, human beings and non-human beings display their forms and benefit them as is fitting. Also all those Four Great Divine Kings, Kings of the Trayastriṃśa-Gods, up to: all the Divine Kings Mahābrahmā come in person to see them. Similarly all the *bodhisattvas*, up to: all the Buddhas and Lords, not only by day but also in dreams display their forms to them, announce their own names, stroke the tops of their heads, comfort them, praise them and encourage them.'

[14I]

[pu]nar aparaṃ gṛ[hapate] tasya (a5) bodhisatvasya anuddiṣṭāpratilabdhā [1] dharmaśabdā[2] śrotrāvabhāsam ā[ga]cchanti pratilabhati[3] ca sa bodhisa sya[4] ṣamādher anubhāvena tāṃ [XX][5]ṃ śṛṇo[ti]
ka[lpa]m apy a[haṃ] (a6) gṛhapate tasya bodhisatvasya guṇa-parikīrtanaṃ[6] kuryām[7] imaṃ samādhiṃ[8] dhārayantasya na ca teṣāṃ guṇānām paryantaṃ[9] śakyaṃ gantuṃ mama vā prati[ti]bhānasya kaḥ pra[vā](a7)do yo bodhisatva imaṃ samādhiṃ pratilabhitvā tathatvāya śikṣeya tathatvāya pratipadyeya

1 MS has *-pprati-*.

2 MS has *-śabdhā*.

3 MS has *ppratilabhati*.

4 Scribal error for *bodhisatvas tasya*?

5 The *akṣaras* are illegible, although there is clearly a superscript with an *anusvāra* above it. Thomas's *dharmāṃ* is likely, although there is no sign of -*rmaṃ* being lengthened. *Tāṃ* stands of course for *tān* (see *BHSG*, 8.90).

6 MS has -*parikīrttanaṃ*.

7 MS has *kuryyām*.

8 MS has *samādhi*.

9 MS appears to have *paryyantaṃ*.

'Furthermore, householder, words of Dharma [hitherto] undeclared and unobtained come within the range of that *bodhisattva*'s hearing, and he obtains them; that bodhisattva hears them through the power of this *samādhi*.

Householder, I might proclaim for as much as a *kalpa* the virtues of the *bodhisattva* who preserves this *samādhi*, yet it would not be possible to reach the limit of those qualities or of my inspired eloquence, to say nothing of the *bodhisattva* who, on obtaining this *samādhi*, would study it in accordance with true reality and put it into practice in accordance with true reality.'

T.418: 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for scriptures which this *bodhisattva* has not yet recited, and books of scriptures which he has not previously heard, this *bodhisattva*, by means of the power of this *samādhi*, obtains for himself in a dream the names of those books of scriptures, he sees all and hears all the sounds of the scriptures. If he does not obtain them by day, then at night in a dream he sees and obtains them all.'

The Buddha said to Bhadrapāla:

'If for one *kalpa*, or if for more than one *kalpa* I were to speak of this *bodhisattva* who preserves this *samādhi*, I could not finish describing his merits, to say nothing of one who strives energetically to obtain this *samādhi*.'

T.416: 'Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, as for other scriptural texts hitherto unheard by those sons and daughters of good family, through the power of this *samādhi* there are naturally people who come to them and proclaim them to them even in dreams, causing them to hear and remember them unfailingly.

Furthermore, Bhadrapāla, if I were to describe the merits obtained by those sons and daughters of good family who for a short time keep the

sublime scriptural text of the *samādhi*, even if I enumerated them for a *kalpa* I would never be able to exhaust them, and my eloquence, although inexhaustible, would not be able to describe them, to say nothing of those who hear this *samādhi* and continue to practise it in accordance with the Dharma.'

[14J]

atha bhagavān[1] tāyāṃ velāyām imā gāthādhya**bhāṣīt**[2] **|**

yo bodhisa[tvo i](a8)mam[3] **uddiśeyā**
samādhi śāntā sugatehi deśitāṃ
tasyānuśāṃsā pari**kīrtayiṣyaṃ**[4]
gaṅgā**y' ivā**[5] **vālika** eka gṛhṇato[6] 1

1 MS has *bhagavan.*

2 MS has *-adhbabhāṣīt*; see Hoernle 1918: 89, n. 5.

3 MS appears to have [*i*]*maṃ u-*, but metre requires correction to [*i*]*mam u-*.

4 MS has *parikīrttayiṣyaṃ.*

5 The BHS *saṃdhi* here can be interpreted in several ways, either as *gaṅgāyi* (gen.; see *BHSG*, 9.32) plus monosyllabic *va* (for *iva*; see *BHSG*, 4.2), or as oblique case *gaṅgāya* or *gaṅgāye* with final *a* or *e* lost before initial *i.* I have opted for the latter in view of the Tib. (q.v.). *Ivā metri causa* for *iva.*

6 Presumably present participle; see *BHSG*, 18.33.

Then the Lord at that time uttered these verses:
'Taking, as it were, one grain of sand from the Ganges,
I shall proclaim the blessings
Of that *bodhisattva* who would demonstrate
This auspicious *samādhi* taught by the *Sugatas.* 1

T.418: The Buddha then recited *gāthās*, saying:
'If there is a *bodhisattva* who recites this
Samādhi spoken by the Buddha,
with its message of calm concentration,
Even if one wished to praise his merits,
It would be like the shores of the Ganges diminishing

by one grain of sand.

T.416: Then the Lord, in order to elucidate this meaning further, uttered *gāthās*, saying:

'If there was a person who could expound this
Great, peaceful and superior *samādhi* of the Buddhas,
Even if I were now to describe his merits,
It would be like taking one grain of sand from that River Ganges.

[na tasya a][1]gniḥ **kra**[ma]**te na** śastraṃ
na tasya cor**āḥ pari**[¯ ˘ ¯](a9)ryya**ḥ**[2]
na tas**ya rājāna karonti vipriyaṃ**
yo uddiśeyāti imaṃ sam**ādhi** 2

---

1 Restored on the basis of Tib. *de la me dang mtshon gyis mi tshugs shing.* The same line also occurs in the *Mv*: for references and other examples of *kram-* with genitive, see Yuyama 1973: 60.

2 *Pāda* b possibly contains the optative form of a verb, ending in *eryya(ḥ)*-- see *BHSG*, 29.30. Tib. has *gnod pa byed mi 'gyur*, which suggests *paripīḍu*, *parihāṇi*, or similar, with some form of *kṛ-*.

He who demonstrates this *samādhi*,
Neither fire nor weapon affects him,
Thieves do not . . . him,
Kings do not do anything disagreeable to him. 2

T.418 Swords and lances do not wound one,
Thieves and enemies cannot harm one,
Kings and ministers are fond of one,
Such is the gain from studying this *samādhi*.

T.416 If one can expound the *samādhi* to others,
Water cannot drown one, nor fire burn,
One is unharmed by injury from weapons,
Kings, thieves and evil ministers cannot have their way.

aśīviṣā **ghoraviṣā** mahābhayā
[t]e [ta]sya **te**[jena][1] bhavanti **nirviṣāḥ**[2]
[¯ *or* ˘] **sukaro** heṭha**bhaya**ṃ [˘ ¯ ¯ *or* ˘ ¯ ˘ ¯][3]
(a10)[yasyaiṣa] **prāvarta**[4] **bhavet sa**[mādhiḥ 3][5]

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1 Tib. *de yi byin gyis de dag*; cf. also 6c.

2 MS has *nirvbiṣāḥ*; cf. *SP* XXIV, v. 15 (Vaidya ed., p. 254).

3 *Pāda* c eludes reconstruction. The Tib. has *gdug pa'i yid kyis mi la 'tshe byed na*, which corresponds to *manuṣya heṭhenti praduṣṭacittāḥ* (as in 6b), but this is clearly incompatible with the *akṣaras* visible here. Nor does the Chinese help, although T.416 seems the closer of the two. Further, the metre demands a long syllable where the text has a short--the *su* of *sukaro*.

4 MS has *prāvartta*.

5 Missing portions of 3d restored from 4d, 6d, 9d.

Terrible snakes with dreadful venom
Become venomless through his power;
The fear of injury . . . easy . . .
By whom this *samādhi* is set in motion. 3

T.418 Terrible venomous snakes
See that practitioner and their poison is quickly removed;
They no longer become angry or give vent
to their evil temper,
Such is the gain from reciting this *samādhi*.

T.416 If one can recite the *samādhi*-scripture,
One does not fear all terrible things,
Just as the great poisons of those large snakes
Can be dispelled by the power of these scriptures.

pratyarthikāsyā[1] **kupitā bhayānakā**
manuṣya[nāgā atha yakṣarākṣasāḥ[2]
te tasya tejaṃ na] sa**hanti jā**[tu][3]
ya**syaiṣa prā**var[ta bhavet samā][4](b1)dhi 4

---

1 MS reads *pratyārthikāsya*; metre requires *pratyarthikāsyā*.

2 Rest of *pāda* restored on basis of 9b, 10b; also Tib.: *mi dang klu dang gnod sbyin srin po dag*.

3 Conjectural restoration of this *pāda* on the basis of Tib. *de yi byin la nams kyang mi bzod do*. Cf. also 6c.

4 Restored on the basis of 3d, 6d, 9d.

His enraged and terrible enemies--
Humans and *nāgas*, also *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*--
They cannot ever endure the power of him
By whom this *samādhi* is set in motion.

T.418 His enemies bear him a grudge, but cannot face him--
Gods, dragon-spirits and *kinnaras*--
Seeing his awesome radiance they are all silent,
Such is the gain from studying this *samādhi*.

T.416 If someone accepts this scripture,
He does not fear all evil humans;
Yakṣas, *rākṣasas* and dragons,
They simply never get their way.

āraṇyakā vyāḍamṛ[gā ˘][1]ranta
siṃhāś ca vyāghr**āś**[2] **ca** vṛ[kā] **sṛgālāḥ**
te tasya raṇyāya[tanasthitasya[3]
sa]hā[yakāḥ bh]o[nti niṣevi]nāś ca[4] 5

---

1 Cf. Tib. *dgon pa'i gcan gzan mi srun gang 'khod pa.*

2 MS has *vyāgrāś.*

3 Tib.: *de dag dgon pa'i gnas su gnas pa de'i.* The restoration is hypothetical, but for *araṇyāyatana* = *dgon pa'i gnas*, see *KP* 105, 141, 142; see also Hirakawa 1963: 85.

4 Conjectural restoration on the basis of Tib. *grogs byed pa dang g'yog byed par yang 'gyur.*

The wild beasts of the forest . . .
Lions, tigers, wolves and jackals,
Become the companions and the attendants
Of him when he is in a forest hermitage. 5

T.418 Evil wolves and great pythons of the wilderness,
Lions, fierce tigers, deer, monkeys and apes
Have no thought of injuring him, and keep
their poison hidden,
All coming to keep close watch over this practitioner.

T.416 If one constantly preserves and worships [it],
Then in the forest they become his friends--
Lions, tigers, wolves and wild animals,
Rhinoceroses, wild dogs, leopards and jackals.

[ya]kṣā pi **ca** o[jaharā bhayā](b2)**nakā**[1]
manu**ṣya**[2] **heṭhenti praduṣṭacittāḥ**
te tasya **tejena bhavanti jihmā**
yasyaiṣa prāvarta[3] **bhavet samādhiḥ** 6

---

1 For 6a Tib. has *gnod sbyin sha za mdangs 'phrogs 'jigs byed pa.* Although Tib. *sha za* (= *piśāca*) is not supported by either Chinese version, *'jigs byed pa* suggests *bhayānakā* at the end of the *pāda* (note that MS has -*nākā*, but this is against the metre; cf. also 4a), while *mdangs 'phrogs* suggests *ojāhāra*, *ojohāra*, see *BHSD*, s.v. Almost all the *o* is visible, while the following *akṣara* has a hook beneath it which could well be the bottom part of a *j*. As it happens, the form *ojahara*, required here by the metre, is attested in a thematically related verse in Chap. XXIV of the *SP* (Vaidya ed., p. 254); cf. also *PTSD*, s.v. *ojā*.

2 Construe as nom. pl. with both Chinese versions, although Tib. has translated as acc. pl. (either is possible, see *BHSG*, 8.79 & 8.94).

3 MS has *prāvartta*.

Even if terrrible *yakṣas*, robbers of vitality,
And human beings with evil intent beset [him],
They become downcast through the power of him
By whom this *samādhi* is set in motion.

T.418 Evil spirits which take away human souls,
Gods and people who harbour thoughts of injury
Feel his power and are naturally subdued,
Such is the gain from studying this *samādhi*.

T.416 If one can preserve this *samādhi*,
He has power which cannot be matched;
He is far removed from all evil-minded humans
And *yakṣas* who swallow one's vital force.

[na ta]sya **ro**g[o na ca a]ntarāyaś
cakṣvendri[yaṃ] **tas**ya na **jā**tu **bha**[gnaṃ[1]
vi](b3)śiṣṭa**vākyaḥ pratibhāna**vanto
ya uddiśe eta samādhi śreṣṭhaṃ **7**

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1 The reconstruction of the first two *pādas* is tentative only. Tib. has *de ni ma med cing lus nad med / mig gi dbang po nams kyang nyams mi 'gyur.* This does not tally with what we can see of the first *pāda*, to which T.416 corresponds more closely. Cf. *SP* (p. 176): *na tasya śoko napi cāntarāyo.* As for the second *pāda*, *bhagnaṃ* is pure surmise, but *bha-* must in any case be rendered long. Thomas proposes *bhaved niḥśiṣṭa*, but apart from being unmetrical, this would entail enjambement between *pādas* b and c. I have conjectured *viśiṣṭa-* for c, as this seems to accord best with the Chinese.

Not for him any sickness or impediment;
His organ of sight is never damaged;
Excellent in speech, endowed with inspired eloquence
Is he who demonstrates that excellent *samādhi.*

T.418 That man is not sick and has no pain;
His hearing and vision are acute and not dimmed
or obstructed,
The eloquence and wisdom of his speech are outstanding.
He who practises the *samādhi* quickly attains this.

T.416 If he can expound this *samādhi,*
He is without diseases or impediments;
The eye which is the reward of birth [?]
is never impaired;
His words are lucid and sublime, and he has great eloquence.

na **sa**[1] **kadācin nirayaṃ**[2] na dur**gatiṃ**
na **tasya** k[āyasm]i krama[nti rogā][3]
na tasya **daurvarṇika**[4] **jā**[5][tu] bh[oti
ya uddiśe e][6](b4)ta **samādhi śāntām** 8

---

1 Metre demands a long syllable. It is possible that *sa* is the result of a 'correction' of gen. masc. sing. *se* (see *BHSG*, 21.18); cf. Tib. *de la nams kyang sems dmyal ngan 'gro med.*

2 MS has *niraṃyaṃ.*

3 Cf. Tib. *de yi lus la nad kyis mi 'debs shing.*

4 MS has *daurvbaṃṇika.*

5 MS has *jāṃ-.*

6 Restored on the basis of 7d.

Not for him at any time hell or evil destiny;
Diseases never attack his body;
Ugliness never falls to the lot of him
Who demonstrates that auspicious *samādhi.*

T.418 That man never falls into hell,
He avoids the destiny of hungry demons and animals;
In his birth life after life he knows his former lives,
Such is the gain from studying this *samādhi.*

T.416 If a man realises profound and peaceful *dhyāna*,
His body is robust and free from all diseases;
His whole life long he is forever free of ugly appearances;
Afterwards he never fears an infernal destiny.

devā na[1] **rakṣanti tathaiva nāgā**
manu**ṣ**yan**āgā** atha yakṣar**ākṣ**as**āḥ**
praduṣṭacittā na prabhonti [bā]dhitum
yasyaiṣa prā**varta**[2] **bha**[vet sa](b5)**mādhiḥ** 9

---

1 *Na*: probably *metri causa* for *naṃ*, acc. sing. masc. (= 'him', cf. Tib. *de la*); see *BHSG*, 21.48.
2 MS has *prāvartta*.

The *devas* protect him and so do the *nāgas*;
Human beings and *nāgas*, also *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*
Of evil intent are not able to harass him
By whom this *samādhi* is set in motion.

T.418 The spirits and *gandharvas* together protect him,
Likewise too gods and people,
Together with *asuras* and *mahoragas*:
Such is the gain from practising this *samādhi*.

T.416 If one can read the *samādhi*-text,
The gods protect him, also the dragon-spirits;
Yakṣas, *rākṣasas* and enemies,
Even if they approach evilly do not terrify him.

devāsya bhāṣanti tathaiva varṇaṃ[1]
manuṣyanāgā atha **yakṣarākṣasāḥ**
buddhāś ca śaṃsanti yaheṣṭaputraṃ[2]
yaḥ kṛtva **prā**[varta pa](b6)**reṣa deśayet**[3] 10

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1 MS has *vaṃṇaṃ*.

2 *Yaheṣṭa-* for *yatheṣṭa-*; see *BHSG*, 2.35.

3 For the restoration of this line, cf. 11d.

The *devas* similarly sing his praises,
[So do] humans and *nāgas*, *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*;
The Buddhas extol him as a beloved son,
Who, having set [the *samādhi*] in motion, teaches it to others. 10

T.418 The gods together laud his virtues,
[So do] gods, humans, dragon-spirits and *kinnaras*;
The Buddhas extol him, effecting his desires [?],
Because he recites and expounds the scripture to others.

T.416 If one can expound this scripture to others,
Human beings [SYM: gods], dragons and *yakṣas* all rejoice;
Day and night the gods are always singing his praises;
All the Lords love him as a son.

na tasya bodhāya kadāci hāni[1]
na tasya dharme**ṣu kadāci kāṃkṣā**
na ta[sya rū]**peṇa** samo **bha**[ve]ya[2]
ya[ḥ k]ṛ(b7)**tva prāvarta pareṣa deśayet 11**

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1 Cf. *SR* XXXVI, v. 9: *na tasya bodhāya kadāci saṃśayo* (Vaidya ed., p. 255).
2 Cf. Tib.: *de yi gzugs dang mnyam pa'ang mi 'byung ngo.*

Not for him ever any falling short with regard to awakening;
Nor for him ever any doubt as to the dharmas;
His equal in beauty does not appear,
Who, having set [the *samādhi*] in motion, teaches it to others. 11

T.418 That man's aspiration to the Way never regresses,
And the meaning of the Law-wisdom is inexhaustible;
His appearance is beautiful beyond compare;
He recites this scripture and converts others.

T.416 If a person always recites it to others,
He has no doubts with regard to all dharmas;
His features are unequalled;
How could there be any diminution in *bodhi*?

rājānakṣobhe[1] **atha satvakṣobhe**
durbhik**ṣakāntārabhaye**[2] **up**asthite
na ta**sya kṣ**obho na [j]i[ghatsa bh]o[nt]i[3]
ya(b8)ḥ kṛtva prāvarta[4] **pareṣa deśayet 12**

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1 *Rājāna* can be taken as a gen. pl., but here is perhaps better construed as a stem-form in composition, like the following *satva-* (cf. *BHSG*, 17.38).

2 MS has *-kantāra-*, which is possibly to be maintained as a BHS form; cf. *PTSD*, s.v.

3 Restored on the basis of Tib.: *de la gnod dang bkres par mi 'gyur ro.*

4 MS has *prāvartta.*

When turmoil among kings and turmoil among beings,
And famine, calamity and fear come to pass,
Turmoil and hunger do not fall to the lot of him
Who, having set [the *samādhi*] in motion, teaches it to others. 12

T.418 When kingdoms attack each other
and the people are in disorder,
When famines are recurrent and one suffers hardship,
His life is never cut off halfway through,
The one who can recite this scripture and convert others.

T.416 If one can teach beings,
Then when one encounters evil kings and people in confusion,
In times of drought when the price of grain is high,
One never suffers from fraud or famine.

māreṇa **vā**[1] satva **adhiṣṭhitā bhaveyuḥ**[2]
na ta**sya** trā**so na pi** lomaharṣaṇaṃ
aci[ntiyā tasya guṇā] bhavanti[3]
prā**varta**(b9)**yan**tasya[4] imaṃ sam**ādhiṃ** 13

---

1 MS has *va*.

2 Although the sense of this line tallies with the Tibetan (*sems can dag la bdud ni nyer gnas kyang*), the end of the *pāda* is hopelessly unmetrical, and thus appears to have been tampered with. Certainly the Sanskrit is suspiciously regular.

3 Cf. Tib.: *de yi yon tan bsam gyis mi khyab 'gyur. Acintiyā* more likely than Thomas's proposed *acintikā* (Hoernle 1918: 411) because of the space taken up by the obliterated *akṣaras*.

4 MS has *prāvarttayantasya*.

Even if beings become overpowered by Māra,
There is no fear or horror for him;
Inconceivable are the virtues of him
Who sets in motion this *samādhi*. 13

T.418 Heroically he overcomes the deeds of Māra,
His mind has no fear, his hair does not stand on end;
His meritorious conduct is inconceivable;
Such is the gain from practising this *samādhi*.

T.416 If a man expounds this *samādhi*,
The merits he possesses are inconceivable;
Even if Māra torments beings,
He cannot move a single hair of his head.

yāvanti kecit parikīrtitā[1] **mayā**
ādīnavopadravasaṃkileṣāḥ
na tasya [kāyasm]i **krama**[nti] **ete**[2]
[sthāpetvā ka]r[m]eṇa [purā]ṇa**kena**[3] (b10) **14**

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1 MS has *parikīrttitā*.

2 Cf. Tib.: *de dag de yi lus la mi tshugs so.*

3 Restoration conjectural, but the first *akṣara* of the *pāda* is partially visible, and appears to be an *s* with a letter beneath it. There is no indication of an *i*, so Thomas's proposed *vinā* is unsupported. Cf. Tib.: *sngon gyi las kyi rnam smin ma gtogs par.*

However many the miseries, misfortunes and afflictions
That have been named by me,
They do not attack his person,
Except by virtue of his former action.

T.418 Bewitchments, magical transformations, spells,
Foul heresies and incorrect practices
Can never affect his person,
Because he loves the Law and penetrates its origin.

T.416 As for the person who keeps the scripture,
described by me before,
All calamities, terrors and afflictions
Can never do him any harm,
Except for misfortunes previously determined by past actions.

praśaṃsitā **varṇita saṃstutā**[1] **ca**
purastha**pitvā ime**[2] **jeṣṭhaputrāḥ**
yeṣāṃ ime hasti udārasūtrā
gacchanti kāle cari[¯ ˘ ¯ ˘ or ¯ ˘ ¯]e[3] **15**[4]

1 MS has *vaṃṇita sastutā.*

2 Metrically short *e* (*BHSG*, 3.64).

3 Tib. *zad pa phyi ma'i dus na* would lead us to suspect some form of *kṣaya* after *carime/carimasmi* here. There is room for four *akṣaras. Carimakṣayāye* is faintly possible (gen. sing. modelled on *-ā* stems?; cf. *BHSG*, 8.58, 9.31).

4 Two obliterated *akṣaras* follow.

Having placed them to the fore, these, my eldest sons
Have been lauded, praised and extolled,
Into whose hands these great *sūtras*
Pass in the last time . . .'

T.418 All together sing their virtues
The honoured sons of the Buddha,
endowed with the wisdom of the concentration;
Such is the gain [of those whose] hands accept this scripture
Afterwards, in the future, in the very last age.

T.416 If there are those who preserve this scripture
These then are eldest sons to me;
I have sung the praises of them,
And so will it be again in future ages.

III. CONCLUDING REMARKS

When one compares the Tibetan and Chinese versions with the Sanskrit fragment and with each other, one is immediately struck by the considerable number of differences between what are supposed to be various renditions of the same text. Naturally the fundamental identity of all four versions is never in doubt, but the degree to which the Chinese and Tibetan do differ from the Sanskrit is sometimes surprising. Even if it is conceded that generally in translating prose and verse (but especially the latter), alteration of the line- and word-order falls within the bounds of acceptable license, the discrepancies encountered here are of an order which exceeds this. Leaving out of account minor alterations to the text, one may point to the following more salient deviations:

14E No equivalent of *ye te asaṃkhyeyāsu lokadhātuṣu* in T.418 or Tib., although the phrase appears in T.416. Tib. & T.416 both mention *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* as providing protection; Sanskrit & T.418 do not.

14H In Sanskrit Bhadrapāla is addressed as *gṛhapati*; all other versions give his name (also in 14I). In Sanskrit no mention of the *devas*, *nāgas*, etc. going to the *bodhisattva* in order to see him, but this appears in Tib., T.418, and T.416. T.416 especially is much more detailed, e.g. the Buddhas stroke the *bodhisattva* on the head (a form of empowerment?), etc.

14I The Sanskrit does not state that the *bodhisattva* hears the new dharmas in dreams as well, but this is the case in the other three versions. No Tib. equivalent for the important phrase *samādher anubhāvena* (attested by the Chinese versions). Only T.416 has any sort of equivalent for *mama vā pratibhānasya* and *tathatvāya*.

14J (Verses)

2 T.416 mentions water not being able to drown the *bodhisattva*. This is not found elsewhere. Both Chinese versions mention ministers.

4 T.418 has *kinnaras*, not found elsewhere.

5 T.418 & T.416 give different collections of wild animals. The third *pāda* of T.418 has no counterpart elsewhere.

6 Tib. version's *sha za* (= *piśācas*) not found elsewhere.

7 Only Tib. & T.418 state that the *bodhisattva*'s **hearing** is unimpaired.

8 T.418 states that the *bodhisattva* knows his former lives---not found elsewhere---and also omits any reference to disease. Only T.416 has a recognisable equivalent for *daurvaṃika*.

9 T.418 has no counterpart for *praduṣṭacitta*; its *asuras* and *mahoragas* appear in Tib. too, but not in Sanskrit or T.416. Tib. version's *kumbhāṇḍas* not found elsewhere.

13 First *pāda* of T.418 suggests different Sanskrit (?).

14 T.418 has totally different fourth *pāda*, and its first two *pādas* also diverge considerably from other versions.

Also to be noted is that only T.416 follows the Sanskrit in the order of its sections (14E, H, I, J; preceded in T.416 by 14G, F); in Tib. (14E, F, G, H, I, J) and T.418 (14G, E, F, H, I, J) the order is different.

I would hesitate to attribute all, or even most of the above divergencies to the translators themselves, even though a certain carelessness in dealing with largely formulaic material is not entirely out of the question. Given the sacred character of the literature concerned, it is hard to see how any translators could take it upon themselves to make such obvious changes to the meaning of the text before them, especially when working in groups. In my opinion, we ought to regard the existing Chinese and Tibetan versions as reasonably faithful to the spirit (if not to the letter) of their respective exemplars, and ascribe most of the grosser discrepancies in the material cited above to changes in the Sanskrit or Indic text in the course of approximately six centuries of transmission. It may well be the case, after all, that by the time the first Chinese translation was made the *PraS* was already circulating in several different recensions. Even the *gāthās*, somewhat less susceptible to change than the prose (thus preserving their original BHS form in many cases where the prose has been completely Sanskritised), have clearly undergone certain alterations.

All this reinforces previous observations on the fluid and multiple nature of the textual tradition of this and other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and should serve to remind us once more that although our Tibetan translation may be a useful reflection of **a** Sanskrit text of the *PraS* at one time and one place, it does not represent the last accessible stage of a purely linear development.

Not being a paleographer I cannot attempt to assign a date to our Sanskrit

MS on the basis of its script. It should, however, be observed that T.416 is the version that most closely resembles the Sanskrit, even though it is considerably more detailed in its prose passages. Since *sūtras* tended to expand with time, this might suggest that the Sanskrit fragment represents a form of the text older than T.416, even though the MS itself may still have been written after Jñānagupta made his translation. Whether or not our fragment embodies the *PraS* in a form which is even older than Lokakṣema's text is also a moot point.

APPENDIX C

CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS

TO

The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Since 1978, when my *The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series, I)* was published by the Reiyūkai Library, Tokyo, our knowledge of the history of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and its transmission has been significantly advanced, most notably by the researches of the German scholar Helmut Eimer. My own work in this field, based chiefly on my study of a small Mahāyāna text entitled the *Lokānuvartanā-sūtra* (*LAn*),[1] has convinced me of the serious shortcomings of most, if not all previous 'critical editions' of Tibetan Kanjur works, including my own edition of the Tibetan version of the *PraS*. The principal deficiency of these editions lies in the fact that they are based entirely on Kanjurs belonging to the 'Eastern' or Tshal-pa tradition, which is derived from a revision of the Kanjur begun in the mid-14th century,[2] and thus ignore the often better readings of the 'Western' tradition, which goes back, in part *via* the Them-spangs-ma MS of 1431, to the Old Narthang Edition of the early 14th century. To be sure some of the readings of this 'Western' tradition are preserved in the Derge Kanjur (D), which is a conflation of the two traditions, and in the Lhasa Kanjur (here: L), which is a conflation of D and Narthang, but how this came about was not at all clear when I first produced my *Text*. Further, although I tended then to prefer the readings of D in cases of doubt, my approach was more or less unsystematic. Now it is possible to do a much better job, i.e. by collating a witness of the Western tradition, and ascertaining which of the readings in D are in fact derived from the Old Narthang/Them-spangs-ma line, and which are variants peculiar to it. For this purpose I have used *The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur*, 109

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1 See Harrison: forthcoming (c). More recently I have continued to apply the classical text-critical method to the Tibetan translation of the *Druma-kinnararāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, for which a Dunhuang text related to the canonical version is also extant. The results obtained so far tend to confirm the conclusions I reached in the above-mentioned paper.

2 The editions of Peking (P) and Cone seem to belong entirely to this Eastern tradition, while the affiliation of Narthang (N, i.e. the woodblock print of 1730-32) is problematical. While it sometimes accords with the Western tradition, it appears to follow the Eastern more often than not, its version of the *PraS* being one case in point.

volumes (Sherig Dpemzod, Leh, 1975-1980), a reprint of a modern handwritten copy of a manuscript Kanjur dating from the early 18th century and kept in the royal palace of Stog in Ladakh (hereafter = R),[3] which traces its descent back to the Them-spangs-ma. It is most unfortunate that R, as a recent handwritten copy, is not the best available witness of the Western tradition: although there is no evidence of contamination from any Eastern Kanjur, orthographical or grammatical 'corrections' and standardisations, many of them *secunda manu*, are disappointingly frequent, and there is more than the usual number of scribal errors. However, a proper re-edition of the Tibetan text of the *PraS* would entail (at the very least) the collation of the London and Tokyo Manuscript Kanjurs (on which see my paper cited in n. 1), and that is beyond the scope of the present work. Therefore the following list of corrections[4] and emendations does not contain all the variants of R, but only those which involve a substantive change to the text as I originally established it, or which are for other reasons especially significant. It includes, for example, archaisms and irregularities which must have been in the original text, and which were removed by the zealous editors of Tshal-pa and/or Derge (and, following their example, by myself); these ought to be restored.[5] It should be noted, however, that in many, many cases R agrees with D against N, P and L, vindicating my initial acceptance of D's readings.

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3 For details concerning this reprint, see Skorupski 1985.

4 The corrections are of typographical and other errors for which I myself was responsible. Thus the word 'correct' below does not imply any emendation of the received text.

5 In many cases where archaic forms are involved, R and P read together, which is what we would expect. P goes back ultimately to the first woodblock printing of the Kanjur in 1410 (the Yongle edition), and therefore represents an earlier and less revised form of the Tshal-pa tradition, one in which many archaisms had not yet been eliminated.

II. CORRECTIONS AND EMENDATIONS

p. 1, l. 9: note that R omits *bam po dang po*; l. 13: read *smig* with PR (*et passim*).

p. 2, l. 13: read *zham ring* with PR; l. 17: read *'tshal* with DPR (*et passim*).

p. 3, l. 4: read *śā ra dva ti'i bu* with R (cf. 23E); l. 5: read *mo'u 'gal gyi bu* with R.

p. 4, l. 1: read *go'u ta mi* with R; l. 15: note that R reads *li tsa byi* (*et passim*).

p. 5, l. 15: read *bzangs* with D (cf. pp. 32, 105, etc.).

p. 7, l. 12: read *bzangs* with DPR; l. 14: read *nas lhags pa dang* with LNPR.

p. 9, l. 15: read *'gyur ba* with R; l. 19: read: *mi khom pa* for *mi dal ba* with R (cf. 13Kv19).

p. 12, l. 12: omit *la* with DR; l. 19: read *kyi* with DPR?; l. 23: read *bsgrubs* with DR.

p. 13, l. 28: note that LNPR omit *lta bu*, but accept D's emendation.

p. 14, l. 6: omit *ba* with NPR; l. 20: read *sgor* with DR.

p. 16, l. 17: read *zham ring* with P (note that R has *zhabs 'bring* in smaller letters, indicating subsequent correction (cf. 1B)); l. 22: read *pas* with DR.

p. 17, l. 2: read *thams cad las* with R; l. 16: accept L's emendation to *pa*; l. 18: read *gyis* with DLR.

p. 18, l. 12: note that R reads *shes* with D.

p. 19, l. 15: note that R reads *par* with D; l. 16: read *slong bar* with R; l. 21: read *bstod* with LNR.

p. 21, l. 6: read *bslangs* with LR.

p. 22, l. 9: read *gtong* with LNPR.

p. 24, l. 21: read *mos pa* with R; l. 22: read *bsam pa* with DR;l 24: note that R reads *rnam par sten pa*; l. 27: read *kyis* with LR.

p. 25, l. 11: read *dbung* with DR.

p. 26, l. 3: omit *de* after *ting nge 'dzin* with R.

p. 27, l. 5: read *'am* after *mdza' bo* with R; l. 8: omit *ba* with DR.

p. 28, l. 22: omit *de* with LNPR.

p. 29, l. 2: note that R omits *bam po gnyis pa*; l. 5: read *bzangs* with DPR.

p. 30, l. 3: read *sngon* with NR; l. 23: omit *de* with DR.

p. 32, l. 16: read *bzangs* with DPR; l. 19: read *las* with DR.

p. 34, l. 3: read *brjod* with LNPR; l. 10: read *pa* with LNPR; l. 17: read *bsngos* with R.

p. 35, l. 9: read *byin* for *phyir* with R.

p. 36, l. 20: omit *'du* with R; l. 28: read *byung* with DR.

p. 38, l. 2: read *byung* with LNP; l. 3: note that R reads *la* for *las*.

p. 40, l. 9: read *bskyed* with R.

p. 41, l. 7: read *shig* with DNPR; l. 17: read *rgyas gyur pa* with DR; l. 18: read *blta* with LPR.

p. 42, l. 7: read *mchog 'di* with R.

p. 45, l. 21: read *'gyur ro* with R.

p. 47, l. 8: read *dpa'* for *dpas* with R.

p. 48, l. 1: read *dpa'* for *dpa'i* with R; l. 5: read *dpa'* for *dpas* with R.

p. 49, l. 20: read *'chad par* with LNPR; l. 29: read *'chad par* with NPR.

p. 50, l. 17: read *'chad par* with LNPR; l. 19: read *shing* for *shig* with R?;

p. 51, l. 4: read *shig* with NPR; l. 5: insert *ces* with LNR; l. 23: read *la gnas* with R.

p. 53, l. 18: correct *noted noted* to *not noted.*

pp. 53-55: R follows the same order for 6G & 6H as DL (see Special Note, p. 55). It appears then that this was the order followed by the Them-spangs-ma (and possibly the Old Narthang, in which case NP may represent a major editorial change in the Tshal-pa MS). Given the different lengths of the two sections, this variant is unlikely to have been caused by simple mechanical error (e.g. the mixing up of folios).

p. 54, l. 9: insert *'di* with DLR.

p. 57, l. 9: read *'di dag* with R; l. 14: read *rtogs* with LNPR.

p. 59, l.3: note that R omits: *bam po gsum pa*:

p. 60, l. 24: correct to *rtog pa mang ba*; l. 21: read *gyi* with LPR.

p. 61, l. 29: insert *rjes su* with DLR.

p. 62, l. 16: for *blags* read *rlags* with R; l. 19: same.

p. 65, l. 6: for *dam* read *dang* with R.

p. 66, l. 6: read *des* with PR; correct *pas 'gyur* to *par 'gyur.*

p. 67, l. 8: for *thos* read *thob* with R.

p. 68, l. 4: for *po'i* read *pos* with R; l. 13: insert *sku* before *skyes bu* with DR; l. 20: for *te* read *to* with R.

p. 71, l. 18: omit *mi* after *rjes su* with R.

p. 75, l. 9: read *nas* for *na* with R; l. 28: read *nas* for *na* with R.

p. 76, l. 14: read *kyi* for *kyis* after *mams* with R; read *ba'o* for *ro* with PR.

p. 77, l. 5: emend *brgyan pas* to *brgyan pa'i*; l. 6: read *bskyed* for *skyes* with R; l. 12: read *reg* with PR.

p. 79, l. 5: read *'di* for *de* with R; l. 6: read *te* for *de* with R?; l. 13: read *chu yang med* for *cing chu'ang med* with R; l. 14: read *me yang med cing rlung med nam mkha' med* with R.

p. 80, l. 8: read *blta* with LPR; l. 19: read *tshul* with R (!).

p. 83, l. 5: read *chung ba* for *chung rab* with R.

p. 84, l. 24: insert *spyod par* after *bsnyungs par* with R.

p. 86, l. 24: read *kyi* with DNR.

p. 87, l. 8: note that R reads *gzhongs* for *ljongs*.

p. 88, l. 16: correct *sngam du* to *snyam du*; l. 18: read *rke* with R.

p. 91, l. 1: read *par* with NPR; l. 19: for *grogs* read *'grogs* with R; l. 20: read *'di ni* with R.

p. 92, l. 3: note that R omits *bam po bzhi pa.*

p. 96, l. 1: read *bzung* with R; l. 28: read *chos de dag* with R.

p. 97, l. 9: read *'byung* with DR; l. 11: for *bsnyen byas* read *bsnyen gnas* with R; l. 23: for *mi bsnyen* read *mi snyan* with R.

p. 99, l. 26: for *dang* read *ngam* with R.

p. 100, l. 24: note that R reads *spyod lam 'chal pa*!

p. 102, l. 9: read *'dod chen po* with R; l. 27: note that R reads *lo brgya pa* instead of *lo lnga brgya pa* (also at this point in 13D,E,F,G,H)!

p. 103, l. 7-8: read *dam pa ma yin pa'i chos kyi phyogs 'phel* with R; l. 11: read *bskyed* with LPR; l. 28: read *bcom ldan 'das las* with R.

p. 104, l. 2: read *byed do* with R.

p. 105, l. 3: read *bzangs* with DR; l. 12: read *bzangs* with D.

p. 106, l. 17: read *chos rnam par 'jig pa* with R.

p. 107, l. 4: read *zhal tar* with DR.

p. 109, l. 12: read *brjod* with NPR.

p. 112, l. 21: read *de dag na yang de rnams chos* with R.

p. 113, l. 5: correct *khrag* to *phrag*; l. 10: read *'dug* for *'dus* with R; l. 18: read *mang po'i* with R; l. 19: correct *bya ba* to *bye ba.*

p. 114, l. 23: read *rtsom* with DR.

p. 116, l. 9: read *bzangs* with DR.

p. 118, l. 4: read *bskal pa* with R; l. 5: read *'gyur* with PR.

p. 119, ll. 7-11: note that R always omits *kyang*; l. 13: read *bzangs* with DPR.

p. 120, l. 11: insert *rnams* before *kyang* with R.

p. 121, l. 6: read *bzangs kyang* with DR.

p. 122, l. 1: for *ting nge 'dzin 'di* read *ting 'dzin 'di ni* with R (cf. l. 21); l. 3: read *pa* with DR; l. 23: for *rnams kyang* read *nams kyang* with R (confirmed by Sanskrit).

p. 123, l. 19: read *gyur pa na'ang* with PR; l. 23: correct *pa spu* to *ba spu.*

p. 125, l. 2: note that R omits *bam po lnga pa*; l. 17: read *cing* with DPR.

p. 126, l. 15: note that R omits *khrir.*

p. 128, l. 10-11: read *'gyur ba la ltos* with R.

p. 132, l. 23: omit *zhe* with DR.

p. 133, l. 7: insert *'di* after *ting nge 'dzin* with R.

p. 134, l. 5: for *gyur pa* read *'gyur ba* with R (also ll. 9,13, 19, 21, & p. 135, l. 5); l. 7: for *tshul khrims tshad dang* read *de dag tshul khrims* with R.

p. 135, l. 12: for *bzung* read *gzung* with R.

p. 136, l. 9: note that R reads *thabs gcig* with P (also p. 137, l. 1; p. 139, l. 21-22; p. 141, l. 28; p. 145, l. 11); l. 22: read *go'u ta mi'i* with R; read *'tshal* with DPR; l. 25: read *go'u ta mi* with R (see also p. 137, ll. 2, 10, 12).

p. 137, l. 18: note R: *gzhongs kyi phyogs.*

p. 138, l. 10: read *'tshal* with DPR; l. 23: read *mtshams bzangs* with R.

p. 140, l. 2: read *rdzu 'phrul mngon par 'du mdzad pa* with R (also ll. 6, 11, 16); l. 15: note that for *'khor de dag* R reads *'khod de / de dag* with LN!

p. 142, l. 8: read *'tshal* with DPR; l. 12: read *mtshams bzangs* with R.

p. 143, l. 9: read *mi brjed par 'gyur ba dang* with R; l. 16: read *ba* with DR; l. 26: read *bcom ldan 'das rnams blta* with R; l. 29: read *dga' ba ste* with DR.

p. 144, l. 13: note R also reads *po* (also at p. 145, l. 1 (with all other witnesses); p. 147, l. 1 (reading also *de dag* with D), l. 11 (*idem*)); l. 27: read *shed las skyes* with R.

p. 149, l. 23: for *des ni* read *de ni* with R.

p. 151, l. 20: read *de nas* with LNR.

p. 152, l. 4: for *thob* read *thos* with R; l. 24: for *bstan* read *brtan* with R.

p. 153, l. 10: for *byed* read *bya* with R.

p. 155, l. 3: note that R omits *bam po drug pa.*

p. 156, l. 7: read *pas* with DR; l. 25.

p. 159, l. 7: for *rlung gi phung pos* read *rlung gi phung po* with R; l. 6: emend *skyes pas* to *skyes pa*; l. 8: for *chu'i phung pos* read *chu'i phung po* with R; l. 14: omit *dag* with R.

p. 162, l. 14: note that R inserts line 18 at this point; l. 15: correct *la rlung* to *la ni rlung*.

p. 163, l. 17: note that for *dngos su shes pa* R reads *mtshan dngos 'du shes* (emend to *dngos su 'du shes*?).

p. 164, l. 1: for *de bzhin mgo bo* read *mgo bo de bzhin* with R.

p. 165, l. 20: note that R omits *rigs kyi bu mo* with LNP.

p. 166, l. 17: omit *pa* with DR.

p. 167, l. 4: read *brtsad* with PR (?); l. 20: note that for *bstan byas* R reads *bshad gyur*.

p. 168, l. 4: note that in R this line reads *shin tu tshul khrims kyang ni dag par 'gyur*.

p. 170, l. 19: correct *nus pa'i 'khor lo* to *nus pa'i tshangs pa'i 'khor lo*.

p. 174, l. 23: for *dang po* read *dang po'o* with R; l. 25: for *dang po* read *dang po'o* with R.

p. 176, l. 13: note that R reads *nga la yang ni srid med ni*.

p. 177, l. 9: after *mngon par* insert *rdzogs par* with R.

p. 178, l. 3: after *rjes su* correct text by inserting *mi mthong ste / rgyu yang dag par rjes su*; l. 10: correct *zhes bya ba ni* to *zhes bya ba 'di ni*.

p. 183, l. 21: correct *'khrul pa* to *'khrul ba*.

p. 186, l. 7: correct *sems dpa'* to *sems dpa'i*.

p. 187, l. 13: omit *gyi* after *da ltar* with R.

p. 188, l. 1: insert *'di* with NR; l. 8: read *na* with DR.

p. 189, l. 18: note that R omits *bam po bdun pa ste tha ma //*; l. 22: correct *'di kyang* to *'dis kyang*.

p. 192, l. 16: for *gser* read *gser srang* with R; l. 22: note that for *dgab pa* R reads *dga' ba* (D not fully legible at this point; cf. 23Vv5).

p. 193, l. 9: correct *de dag lhan cig* to *de dag dang lhan cig*; l. 11: correct *skyes ba* to *skye ba*; l. 28: note that R reads *dpa' bar brtan pa*.

p. 195, l. 6: read *bsgrags* with PR; l. 25: read *bsgrags* with NPR.

p. 196, l. 14: read *bsgrags* with NPR.

p. 197, l. 15: read *bsgrags* with NPR.

p. 198, l. 19: for *spar gang gi ni* read *spar ba gang gi*.

p. 199, l. 4: for *skyed* read *bskyed* with R; l. 6: note that R reads *dga'* for *dgab*; l. 9: emend *brgya* to *brgyad*.

p. 201, l. 6: note R reads *rten* (DNP: *brten*); l. 9: for *mang zhing* read *mang zhig* with R.

p. 204, l. 8: read *bsgrags* with NR; l. 19: read *brlabs* with NPR.

p. 206, l. 24: read *por* with DR.

p. 208, l. 24: insert *pa* with PR.

p. 210, l. 24: for *brten* read *brtan* with R.

p. 211, l. 4: for *brtag* read *rtag* with R; l. 12: for *brtag* read *rtag* with R; l. 14: for *kun smon lam 'debs shing* read *kun tu smon 'debs shing* with R (so also D, with *pa* inserted after *smon*).

p. 212, l. 3: read *mnyan* with DLR (?).

p. 213, l. 7: for *tshig* read *chos* with R.

p. 216, l. 13: for *gang zhig* read *sangs rgyas* with R; l. 22: for *de la* read *'di las* with R (D: *de la* with gap after *la* suggesting excision of *-s*).

p. 218, l. 6: for *gnas bzhin* read *rang bzhin* with R.

p. 219, l. 4: omit *de* with DR.

p. 220, l. 4: for *che 'di'i mdzod* read *che'i mdzod 'di* with R; l. 16: read *bsgrags* with NPR (D has gap for excised *-s*).

p. 221, l. 23: correct *bstad do* to *bstod do.*

p. 222, l. 2: correct *rakśi* to *rakṣi*; l. 3: note that R omits *skad gsar chad kyis kyang bcos lags.*

p. 234 (Concordance): for T.416 24A correct 877a23 to 897a23; for 24B correct 877b4 to 897b4.

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

The glossary which follows, although far from being a complete index to the text, contains over 300 entries listing in Sanskrit alphabetical order proper names, technical terms and other selected vocabulary items which appear in the *PraS.* Although it would have been more proper to list all items in Tibetan in the first place, the Sanskrit equivalents have been placed first in order to make the glossary readily accessible to a wider scholarly audience. A further consideration in this regard was that not all the terms given are found in the Tibetan text. After the Sanskrit, then, follow the standard English rendering adopted in my translation (if the Sanskrit itself is not used); the Tibetan counterpart; and finally an index, by chapter and section, of those places in the text of the *PraS* where the term may be found. As in the body of this study, references to verses are made after the pattern: 8Kv5 = Chap. 8, Section K, Verse 5. In the index section the following abbreviations are used:

(T) = in the section designated the term is found only in Tib.

(S) = in the section designated the term is found only in Sanskrit.

(C) = in the section designated the term is found only in Chinese.

(418), (419), (416) = found only in the designated Chinese version.

(C?), etc. = found in the designated version(s)--in this case all the Chinese--but not clearly attested elsewhere.

For technical reasons it has not been possible to give the Chinese equivalents in the Glossary, but by using the Concordance readers may readily check any Chinese renditions of the terms listed. Furthermore, many Chinese transcriptions and translations of proper names are discussed in footnotes to the English translation above, while those of T.418 in particular are cited in Appendix A, so readers may also refer to these for the Chinese characters used.

akaniṣṭha-deva; 1H(418); see ***śuddhāvāsa-kāyika-deva***.

akuśala-karma-patha (daśa-); ten bad ways of action; **Tib.** *mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam*; 2G.

akṣaṇa (aṣṭa-); benighted states; **Tib.** *mi khom; mi dal ba*; 1K; 13Kv19; 13Mv1.

Ajātaśatru; **Tib.** Ma skyes dgra; 1H.

advaya; without duality; **Tib.** *gnyis su med pa*; 2J; 24B(T); see also 1S.

adhimukti, ***adhimukta***; conviction, convinced, inclination; **Tib.** *mos pa*; 1N (*-bala*), R; 2I; 6G; 7A, C-D; 9B; 20E, Kv5; 24B; 24C(T); 24H(T); see also ***gambhīrādhimukta***.

adhimukti-bala; power of conviction; **Tib.** *mos pa'i stobs*; 1N.

adhyāśaya; resolve; **Tib.** *lhag pa'i bsam pa*; 1Q; 2I; 13A; 15C; 23P-R; 24C(T); 26D; see also ***āśaya***.

Anavatapta; **Tib.** Ma dros; 1I.

anāgāmin; Never-returning; **Tib.** *phyir mi 'ong ba*; 8F(T).

Anāthapiṇḍada; **Tib.** Mgon med zas sbyin; 1G.

anāvaraṇa / nirāvaraṇa / vinīvaraṇa; free of the obscurations, unobscured, etc.; **Tib.** *sgrib pa med pa; sgrib pa dang bral ba*; 14A; 16T; 18B; 22Bv8(T); see also next, ***āvaraṇa***.

anāvaraṇa-jñāna; unobscured cognition; **Tib.** *sgrib pa med pa'i ye shes*; 1R (*shes pa sgrib pa med pa*?); 2J(T?: *ye shes la sgrib pa med pa*); 18B; 22Bv9(T).

anāsrava; not subject to the noxious influences; **Tib.** *zag pa med pa*; 8D, 8E(T); 8Kv8; 24Jv10(T); see also ***āsrava***; ***kṣīṇāsrava***.

anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi; supreme and perfect awakening; **Tib.** *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub*; 1K; 1L(416); 4D; 5D(T?); 8C(418); 13A; 17A; 19C; 23A-D, F, M-O; 26C; see also next.

anuttarāṃ samyak-saṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhyate, etc.; to become fully awakened to supreme and perfect awakening ; **Tib.** *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya*, etc; 8A; 8F(T); 15E-F,O; 22A; 23A(C); 23B (C); 23C-D, N; see also next.

anuttarāyāḥ samyak-saṃbodher avaivartika / avinivartanīya, etc.; unable to regress from supreme and perfect awakening; **Tib.** *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub las phyir mi ldog pa*; 3D; 3G-H; 7D; 23U; 26E; see

also ***avaivartika***.

anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti; patient acceptance of the fact that dharmas are not produced; **Tib.** *mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa*; 3H; 15N (418); 16L; 19B (416); 26E (418).

anupalabdhi, ***anupalambha***, etc.; non-objectification, unable to be apprehended as an object, etc.; **Tib.** *mi dmigs pa / dmigs su med pa*, etc.; 1Q; 2A; 3M; 8E, F, G, H, Kv17; 9A, D; 15L; 17Bv8; 19Dv5; 24B; see also ***upalabhyate***, etc.

anumodanā / anumud-, etc.; rejoicing; **Tib.** *rjes su yi rang ba*; 9L; 23A-F; 23Gv1, 2, 5, 6(418); 23M-O; 23Vv9.

anya-tīrthika; other sectarians; **Tib.** *mu stegs can gzhan / gzhan mu stegs can*; 1R; 14B; 18E; see also ***tīrthika***.

apāya; state of woe; **Tib.** *ngan song*; 13Kv19; 14Jv8 (Tib. *ngan 'gro*); 20I(416); 20Kv11(T); see also ***durgati***.

apramāṇa-citta; thoughts of infinitude; **Tib.** *sems tshad med pa*; 16N; see also ***maitrī***, etc.

abhijñā (pañca-); the five extraordinary faculties; **Tib.** *lnga mgon par shes pa*; 1Y; see also next.

abhijñā (ṣaḍ-); the six extraordinary faculties; **Tib.** *drug mgon par shes pa*; 1Y.

abhiniṣkramaṇa, ***abhiniṣkrānta***; going forth, gone forth; **Tib.** *mngon par 'byung ba, mngon par byung ba*; 2H; 9A-D, H; 11Dv1; 13A; 15D-E.

abhibhvāyatana (aṣṭa-); eight stages of sovereignty; **Tib.** *zil gyis gnon pa'i skye mched brgyad*; 2G.

amanuṣya; non-humans; **Tib.** *mi ma yin pa*; 14D-H.

Amitāyus; **Tib.** Tshe dpag med; 3A-C, E-F; 5C(416); 5Ev6(418?).

abhijñā (pañca-); the five extraordinary faculties; **Tib.** *lnga mgon par shes pa*; 1Y; see also next.

araṇya; the forest; **Tib.** *dgon pa*; 1P; 2D; 9D(416); 9H, Mv1; 13Lv1(C); see also next.

araṇyāyatana; forest hermitage; **Tib.** *dgon pa'i gnas*; 14Jv5.

arhat; **Tib.** *dgra bcom pa*; 1A; 1Y(418: see *abhijñā*); 15K; 18F; 23J; see also next.

arhattva; Arhatship; **Tib.** *dgra bcom pa nyid*; 8F(T); 8G; 26E(416).

alakṣaṇa; markless(ness); **Tib.** *mtshan nyid med pa*; 1S; 24Jv12(T); see also ***lakṣaṇa***.

avinivartanīya / avaivartika; unable to regress; **Tib.** *phyir mi ldog pa*; 1R; 15K; 18F; 23E; 23Gv4(418); see also ***anuttarāyāḥ***, etc.

aśubha-bhāvanā; meditation on the repulsive; **Tib.** *mi sdug pa sgom pa*; 3J; see also 2G.

asaṃkhyeya-kalpa; incalculable *kalpa*; **Tib.** *bskal pa grangs med pa*; 15A; 23H; 23W(416).

asamasama-jñāna, cognition equal to the unequalled; **Tib.** *mi mnyam pa dang mnyam pa'i ye shes*; 8J; 15G.

asura; **Tib.** *lha ma yin*; 1I; 2c(T); 2B(416); 6I; 14E-H; 14Jv9, 10; 15I(T), O(T); 26B; 26E(C); 26F.

ākāśa; space, empty space; **Tib.** *nam mkha'*; 1O, X; 8Hv2; 8Kv5; 15L; 18F, K; 25F; see also next.

ākāśa-dhātu; element of space; **Tib.** *nam mkha'i khams*; 2J.

ākāśa-saṃjñā; apperception of space; **Tib.** *nam mkha'i 'du shes*; 3H; 5B; 8Kv10.

āghāta-vastu; nine bases of ill-will; **Tib.** *kun nas mnar sems kyi dngos po dgu*; 2G.

ācārya; master, teacher; **Tib.** *slob dpon*; 6H; 9D; 10B; 11C; 16O; 23R-T; 23W.

ātma-dṛṣṭi; view of a self; **Tib.** *bdag tu lta ba*; 18D; 18Kv16.

ātma-saṃjñā; apperception of self; **Tib.** *bdag tu 'du shes*; 2H; 4B; 5Ev4(418); 15L(T?); 16Vv11 (*bdag med 'du shes*); 18E.

Ānanda; **Tib.** Kun dga' bo; 1A; 5Ev7; 6E; 13Kv1, 33, 34; 26B; 26F(C).

Āmrapālī; **Tib.** A mra skyong; 3D.

āyatana; sense-fields; **Tib.** *skye mched*; 2E; 2H; see also ***tīrthyāyatana***, ***araṇyāyatana***, next.

āyatana-dṛṣṭi; view of sense-fields; **Tib.** *skye mched du lta ba*; 18D.

ārambha-vastu (aṣṭa); eight bases of exertion; **Tib.** *brtsams pa'i dngos po brgyad*; 2G.

ārāgayati; encounter, attain; **Tib.** *mnyes par byed pa*; 7A, Gv14; 13Kv18, 20, 22, 24; 15D-E, O; 23N; 23Vv8.

ārya; the holy ones; **Tib.** *'phags pa (rnams)*; 2F; 9D; 16B (*'phags ma*); 24B.

āryāṣṭāṅga-mārga; holy eightfold path; **Tib.** *'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad pa*; 2G(T).

ālasya-vastu (aṣṭa-); (eight) bases of sloth; **Tib.** *le lo'i dngos po (brgyad)*; 2G; 4Ev9.

āvaraṇa; obscurations; **Tib.** *sgrib pa (lnga)*; 2D; 2G(T); 16T, Vv11; see also ***anāvaraṇa***.

āveṇika-(buddha-)dharma (aṣṭādaśa-); (eighteen) exclusive (Buddha) dharmas; **Tib.** *(sangs rgyas kyi) chos ma 'dres pa (bco brgyad)*; 15I(T); 22A-B; 25E(T).

āśaya; intent; **Tib.** *bsam pa*; 1N (-*bala*); 1O(T); 1Q; 23K(?); 24F(T); see also ***adhyāśaya***.

āśaya-bala; power of intent; **Tib.** *bsam pa'i stobs*; 1N.

āśrava / āsrava; noxious influences; **Tib.** *zag pa*; 15O; 20J; 20Kv12(T); 21B(T); 21Ev3(T); see also ***anāsrava***, ***kṣīṇāsrava***.

Indradatta; **Tib.** Dbang pos byin; 1G; 3G; 13E; 14A; 16D; 16H-I(T); 16J; 26B.

indriya (pañca-); faculties, senses; **Tib.** *dbang po*; 1N (-*bala*); 2D; 6Jv3; 19B(416); 20F; 20Kv6(T).

indriya-bala; power of the organs of sense; **Tib.** *dbang po'i stobs*; 1N.

īryāpatha; modes of deportment; **Tib.** *spyod lam*; 6G; 9B; 12B(T); 12Cv4(T).

Utpalavarṇā; **Tib.** U tpa la'i mdog; 3D.

upakleśa; secondary defilements; **Tib.** *nye ba'i nyon mongs pa*; 2E.

Upananda; **Tib.** Nye dga' bo; 1I.

upalabhyate, ***upalambha***, etc.; to objectify, apprehend objectively, objectification, etc; **Tib.** *dmigs pa*; 3F, M; 6D, H, Jv6, 7; 7C; 15L, M, N; 18B, D, E; 24H, Jv2 (T); see also ***anupalabdhi***, etc.

upavāsa (aṣṭāṅga-)[?]; eightfold fast; **Tib.** *yan lag brgyad dang ldan pa'i nye bar gnas pa*; 11C; see also ***poṣadha***.

upādhyāya; preceptor; **Tib.** *mkhan po*; 9D; 16O.

upāya-kauśalya; skill in means; 16V(418: v. 4).

upāsaka; **Tib.** *dge bsnyen*; 1I(418); 3A; *et passim*.

upāsikā; **Tib.** *dge bsnyen ma*; 1I(418); 3A; *et passim*.

upekṣā; disinterestedness; **Tib.** *btang snyoms*; 4Ev10(*btang snyoms byas na*); 8E(T); 22A(q.v.); 22Bv5(T); see also ***maitrī***, etc.

ṛddhi; magic (power); **Tib.** *rdzu 'phrul*; 1L; 13Jv1; see also next.

ṛddhi-bala; magical power; **Tib.** *rdzu 'phrul gyi stobs*; 3C; 18Kv20(T); see also next.

ṛddhyabhisaṃskāram abhisaṃskṛ-; perform a working of magic; **Tib.** *rdzu 'phrul mngon par 'du bya ba* (or: *mngon par mdzad pa*) *mngon par mdzad pa*; 1D-E; 1I(T); 16G.

Elapatra; **Tib.** E la'i 'dab ma; 1I.

ojahāra; stealers of vital force; Tib. *mdangs 'phrogs*; 14Jv6.

gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-sama (and related expressions); like the sands of the River Ganges; **Tib.** *gang gā'i (klung gi) bye (ma)*; 13Kv26, 31; 14Jv1; 15O; 23W(C); 23Xv12; 23Xv13-15(T); 26E.

gati; destiny; **Tib.** *'gro ba*; 1Y; 8Kv7; 16Vv1; 18Kv19(T); see also ***durgati***, ***apāya***.

gandharva; **Tib.** *dri za*; 1I; 2C(T); 14E; 14F(C); 14G(416); 14H; 17Bv5(T); 26F(T).

gambhīra-dharma-kṣānti; patient acceptance of the profound Dharma; **Tib.** *chos zab mo la bzod pa*; 16L; 16V.

gambhīrādhimukta; convinced of the profound; **Tib.** *zab mo la mos pa*; 6G; 9B; 19B.

garuḍa; **Tib.** *nam mkha' lding*; 1I; 13Kv9(416); 14E-H.

gāthā; verse, *gāthā*; **Tib.** *tshigs su bcad pa*; 3O *et passim*.

Guhagupta (Guhyagupta?); **Tib.** *Phug sbas*; 1E; 13E; 13Kv26; 14A; 16D, H-I; 16J(T); 26B; 26F(416).

gṛhapati; householder; **Tib.** *khyim bdag*; 1G; 7Gv15; 13E(T); 14A; 16D; 16E(T); 16H-I.

gṛhastha / gṛhin; householder; **Tib.** *khyim na gnas pa, khyim pa*; 1B; 1P; 3B; 3H-I; 7B; 11A-Dv1.

cakravarti-rājan; Universal Monarch; **Tib.** *'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po*; 9C(418); 18G; 23K; 23L(418).

cakravāḍa (-mahā-cakravāḍa); the Cakravāḍa (and Greater Cakravāḍa) Mountains; **Tib.** *(ri) khor yug (dang khor yug chen po)*; 3C; 18G; 18Kv11(T).

cīvara; see next, ***pātra-cīvara***.

cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayanāsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya-pariṣkāra; robes, food, beds and seats, medicine to cure the sick, and personal belongings; **Tib.** *(chos) gos dang zas dang mal stan dang na ba'i gsos sman dang yo byad*; 2D; 10B(T); 23W(C).

Jambudvīpa; **Tib.** 'Dzam bu'i gling; 6A; 13A-B; 23I, L.

Jina; **Tib.** *rgyal ba*; 2A *et passim*.

jīva(jīvita?)-saṃjñā; apperception of a life; **Tib.** *srog tu 'du shes*; 2H; 18E(T).

jñāna; cognition; **Tib.** *ye shes*; 1L *et passim*.

jñāna-darśana; cognition and vision; **Tib.** *ye shes mthong ba*; 15O; 22A.

tathatā, ***tathatva***; true reality; **Tib.** *de bzhin nyid*; 1T; 6D; 7F; 14I(Skt., 416?); 25Fv9(T).

Tathāgata; **Tib.** *de bzhin gshegs pa*; 1T *et passim*.

tathāgata-kāya; the body of the *Tathāgata(s)*; **Tib.** *de bzhin gshegs pa'i* (or: *pa rnams kyi) sku*; 8C(T); 8D; 24Jv7(T).

tathāgato 'rhan samyak-saṃbuddha; *Tathāgata*, *Arhat* and Perfectly Awakened One; **Tib.** *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*; 1Y(419); 3A *et passim*; see also next.

tathāgato 'rhan samyak-saṃbuddho vidyācaraṇa-saṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamya-sārathiḥ śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca buddho bhagavān; refer to translation for English rendering; **Tib.** *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas / rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa / bde bar gshegs pa / 'jig rten mkhyen pa / skyes bu 'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur ba / bla na med pa / lha dang mi rnams kyi ston pa / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das*; 3D(416); 3F; 15A; 17A; 23H; 23N(416).

tīrthika; sectarian; **Tib.** *mu stegs can*; 1M; 8Kv13; see also ***anya-tīrthika***.

tīrthyāyatana; sectarian schools (?); **Tib.** *mu stegs can gyi skye mched*; 16M.

trayastriṃśa(-deva); (*devas* of) the Thirty-three; **Tib.** *sum cu rtsa gsum (pa'i lha)*; 15D; 18G; 18H(418); 18Kv5; 18Kv13(T); see also ***Śakra***.

tridhātu; Triple World; **Tib.** *khams gsum*; 1U; 2H; see also ***traidhātuka***.

trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra-loka-dhātu; Trichiliomegachiliocosm; **Tib.** *stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams*; 1I; 6I; 6Jv1 (*stong gsum thams cad*); 7E, Gv1; 18I; 26E.

traidhātuka; belonging to the Triple World; **Tib.** *khams gsum pa*; 3L.

daśabala; ten powers (of a Buddha), one with ten powers; **Tib.** *stobs bcu*; 1X; 2G(T); 5Ev4; 15I(T); 20A-K; 22Bv12(T); 25E(T); see also 1N.

dāna-pāramitā; perfection of giving; **Tib.** *sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*; 5D; 9D(416); 15N(416); 16V(418: v. 3).

divya-cakṣus; divine vision; **Tib.** *lha'i mig*; 3C; 20I.

divya-śrotra; divine hearing; **Tib.** *lha'i rna ba*; 3C.

Dīpaṃkara; **Tib.** Mar me mdzad; 15F; 17A, Bv1.

durgati; evil destiny; **Tib.** *ngan 'gro*; 13Mv1; 20I(416); see also ***apāya***.

Dṛḍhavīrya; **Tib.** Brtson 'grus brtan pa; 23N; 23Vv10.

***Dṛḍhaśūra**; **Tib.** Dpa' brtan pa; 23N, Vv11.

deva; **Tib.** *lha*; 1H *et passim*.

devātideva; *deva* of *devas*; **Tib.** *lha'i lha*; 13Jv2.

dvipadendra; Lord of the Two-footed; **Tib.** *rkang gnyis dbang po; rkang gnyis gtso*; 5Ev4; 13Jv3; 13Kv21.

dharma; Dharma/dharma; **Tib.** *chos*; 1B *et passim*.

dharma-kāya; Body of Dharma; **Tib.** *chos kyi sku*; 1X.

dharma-dhātu; dharma-realm; **Tib.** *chos kyi dbyings*; 1S; 2J; 8F(416).

dharma-pravicaya-saṃbodhy-aṅga; the awakening factor of discrimination of Dharma; **Tib.** *chos 'byed pa yang dag byang chub kyi yan lag*; 15M.

dharma-bhāṇaka; preacher of Dharma; **Tib.** *chos smra ba*; 1M; 4Ev11; 5A; 9E; 23L-M(T); 23R; 23W(C); 23Xv1.

dharma-rāja; King of Dharma; **Tib.** *chos kyi rgyal po*; 6Jv5; 25Fv4(T).

dharma-saṃjñā; apperception of a dharma; **Tib.** *chos kyi 'du shes*; 15N(T?); 18D; 18E(T).

dhātu; elements; **Tib.** *khams (rnams)*; 2E, H; 16M(416); 18D; 18Kv17(416); 20D; 20Kv7(T); see also 3F; 8Kv15; 18Kv18; see also next.

dhātu; relics; **Tib.** *ring bsrel*; 4Ev7; 18Kv2 (*ring bsrel mchod rten*).

dhāraṇī (-mukha); *dhāraṇī* (gate); **Tib.** *gzungs (kyi sgo)*; 1T; 7Gv16(C?); 25Fv1(T).

Dhṛtarāṣṭra; 16E(416).

dhyāna; trance; **Tib.** *bsam gtan*; 1M; 2E,G; 4Ev3; 6D; 9Mv3(T); 14D; 20G; 20K(T); 23Xv14(T).

dhyāna-pāramitā; perfection of trance; **Tib.** *bsam gtan gyi pha rol tu phyin pa*; 5D; 16V(418: 3rd verse).

Nanda; **Tib.** Dga' bo; 1I.

naraka; hell; **Tib.** *sems dmyal*; 14Jv8.

narendra; Lord of Humankind; **Tib.** *mi dbang*; 5Ev3.

narottama, Supreme Human; **Tib.** *mi mchog*; 4Ev5; 6Jv8; 8Kv19.

Naladatta (Naradatta?); **Tib.** 'Dam bus byin; 1F; 13E; 14A; 16D, H-J; 26B; 26F(416).

nāga; **Tib.** *klu*; 1I; 13Kv9; 14D-H, Jv9, 10; 17Bv5(T).

niḥkleśa/niṣkleśa; free of the defilements, undefiled; **Tib.** *nyon mongs med pa*; 1A; 2F(T); 8Kv6; 15L; 18F; 24Jv12(T).

nimitta; sign, feature; **Tib.** *mtshan*

ma; 2I; 3B; 9H; 15M; 17A; 18D (*mtshan mar lta ba*); 19A; 24D(T); see also next.

nimitta-saṃjñā; apperception of a sign; **Tib.** *mtshan ma'i 'du shes*; 8Kv14; 19A; 19Dv1.

nirvāṇa, ***nirvṛta***, etc.; (entered / attained) Nirvāṇa; **Tib.** *mya ngan las 'da' ba; mya ngan las 'das pa*; 2H; 3N(C); 3Ov3; 7Gv7; 8H, Kv4; 13A, D, F, Kv8; 15L; 19Dv2; 21Ev5(T).

nirvāṇa-dhātu; realm of Nirvāṇa; **Tib.** *mya ngan las 'das pa'i dbyings*; 2J; 22A(T).

nīvaraṇa; see ***āvaraṇa***.

paramārtha; ultimate truth; **Tib.** *don dam*; 7Gv6; 8G, Kv4; 13Jv3; 16R(T); 17Bv11(T); 19Dv5.

pariṇāmayati, ***pariṇāmanā***, etc.; dedication, application [of merit, etc.]; **Tib.** *bsngo ba(r byed)*; 23D(416), E(T), F, M(416).

parinirvāṇa, ***parinirvṛta***, etc; (attain, undergo) Parinirvāṇa; **Tib.** *yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba/ 'das pa*; 13B, H; 15N; 22A.

pātra-cīvara; bowls and robes; **Tib.** *lhung bzed dang chos gos*; 9H, J; 10B; 14D; 16F; 19B(418); see also ***cīvara***, etc.

pāpa-mitra; bad friend; **Tib.** *sdig pa'i grogs po*; 2D; 6Jv3; 7A.

pāramitā; perfection; **Tib.** *pha rol tu phyin pa*; 1R; 2J; 16V(418: 4th verse); 20Kv7, 11(T); 24G(T); see also ***prajñā-pāramitā***, etc.

piṇḍapāta (-cārika), ***piṇḍa-pātika***, etc.; (living off) alms-food; **Tib.** *bsod snyoms (spyad pa)*; 9H; 15Pv7; 19B, Dv5.

piśāca; **Tib.** *sha za*; 14D(416); 14Jv6(T).

puṇya; merit; **Tib.** *bsod nams*; 1L *et passim.*

pudgala; person; **Tib.** *gang zag*; 6D; 6H(T); 15L, N; 16O(T); 20E-F(T); see also next.

pudgala-dṛṣṭi; view of a person; **Tib.** *gang zag tu lta ba*; 6D; 6H(T); 18D; see also next.

pudgala-saṃjñā; apperception of a person; **Tib.** *gang zag tu 'du shes*; 2H(T); 18E.

poṣadha (aṣṭāṅga-); eightfold fast; **Tib.** *yan lag brgyad pa'i gso sbyong*; 11Dv2; see also ***upavāsa***.

Prajāpati; **Tib.** Skye dgu'i bdag po; 3F.

prajñā; wisdom; **Tib.** *shes rab*; 1L *et passim.*

prajñā-cakṣus; eye of wisdom; **Tib.** *shes rab kyi mig*; 2J.

prajñā-pāramitā; perfection of wisdom; **Tib.** *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*; 5D; 16V(418: 3rd

verse).

prajñā-skandha; constituent of wisdom; 2F(416).

praṇidhāna; vow; **Tib.** *smon lam*; 1V; 2A; 24C(T), F(T), Jv7, 11(T); 25C(T); see also next.

praṇidhāna-bala; power of vows; **Tib.** *smon lam gyi stobs*; 1N.

pratibhāna; inspired eloquence; **Tib.** *spobs pa*; 1V; 14I (S, 416); 14Jv7; 16R.

pratimā; image; **Tib.** *sku gzugs*; 3H(T); 3I; 4D, Ev8.

pratisaṃvid; special knowledge(s); **Tib.** *so so yang dag par rig pa*; 1P; 15I(T).

pratītya-samutpāda; conditioned production; **Tib.** *rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba*; 2I; 3M(T).

pratyaya; condition; **Tib.** *rkyen*; 18D(*-dṛṣṭi*).

pratyaya-bala *(?)*; power of conditions; **Tib.** *rkyen gyi stobs*; 1N.

pratyekabuddha; **Tib.** *rang sangs rgyas*; 1R; 1Y(418); 18F; 24B(418); see also next.

pratyekabuddhayānika; adherent of the Pratyekabuddhayāna; **Tib.** *rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa pa*; 9E-F(T); see also next.

pratyekabodhi; self-awakening; **Tib.** *rang byang chub*; 8F(T); 8G(416).

pravrajita, ***pravrajyā***, etc.; renunciant; one who has gone forth; going forth; **Tib.** *rab tu byung ba*; 1P; 3B; 3H-I; 7B; 11C; 15C, Pv7; 23M, Vv6, W(C), Xv4.

prātimokṣa; Prātimokṣa; **Tib.** *so sor thar pa*; 9B; 9Mv1.

***Prāptapratibhāna**; **Tib.** Spobs pa rnyed pa; 3G.

preta; **Tib.** *yi dwags*; 14D; 14Jv8(418).

bahuśruta, ***bāhuśrutya***; greatly learned, great learning; **Tib.** *mang du thos pa*; 2C(T); 2F; 5D; 6A, G; 7A(T); 7Gv16; 8Kv12, 22; 9K; 10B; 15C, N; 16P; 17Bv6(T); 19Dv8; 23A-D, F; 23M(418); 24A; see also ***śruta***, ***śruti***.

buddha-kṣetra; Buddha-field; **Tib.** *sangs rgyas kyi zhing*; 1M, S, Y; 3A, E; 5Ev2(419); 7E-F, Gv3, 8; 13Kv20(T).

buddha-jñāna; Buddha-cognition; **Tib.** *sangs rgyas kyi ye shes*; 2J; 8J; 13Jv5(T), v6(C); 15F, G; 16Vv4; 17Bv10(T).

buddha-dharma; Buddha-dharma(s); **Tib.** *sangs rgyas kyi chos*; 1P, R, T; 7A; 8D; 11Dv6(T); 15H(T); 17Bv6(T); 25E(T); 26A(T).

buddhānusmṛti; calling to mind (of) the Buddha; **Tib.** *sangs rgyas rjes su dran pa*; 2I; 3F; 15M; 24H(T).

bodhi; awakening; **Tib.** *byang chub*; 2A *et passim.*

bodhi-citta(m utpad-); (to conceive) the aspiration to awakening; **Tib.** *byang chub kyi sems (skyed pa)*; 1S; 2A, J; 4C; 13Kv7; see also 23M.

bodhipākṣika-dharma; dharmas conducive to awakening; **Tib.** *byang chub kyi phyogs kyi chos*; 23D(T); 23N-O, Q; 24I(T).

bodhisattva; **Tib.** *byang chub sems dpa'*; 1B *et passim.*

bodhisattva-yāna/-yānika; (adherent of) the Bodhisattvayāna; **Tib.** *byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa (pa)*; 9E, F(*-yānika*); 24G(T).

brahma-cakra; Wheel of Brahmā; **Tib.** *tshangs pa'i 'khor lo*; 20A-J; 21A-D(T).

brahmacarya, ***brahmacārin***; (one who leads) the holy life; **Tib.** *tshangs par spyod pa/spyad pa*; 2A; 2I(T); 9C; 11B(T), C; 13Kv22; 14D; 15C-E(T?); 16M(T); 16Vv3.

Brahmadatta; **Tib.** Tshangs pas byin; 23L-M; 23Vv15.

brahma-loka; Brahma-world; **Tib.** *tshangs pa'i 'jig rten*; 1I; 13I(T); 18G; 18Kv4.

brahma-vihāra; see ***apramāṇa-citta***, ***maitrī***, etc.

Brahmā; **Tib.** Tshangs pa; 3F(T: *bram ze*); 14F-G; 18G, Kv4; 20A-J; 21A-D(T); see also next.

Brahmā Sahāṃpati; **Tib.** *Mi mjed kyi bdag po* Tshangs pa; 1H; 14E, H; 16E.

brāhmaṇa; brahman; **Tib.** *bram ze*; 3F(T); 15E; 20A-J; 21A-D(T).

bhagavat; Lord; **Tib.** *bcom ldan 'das*; 1A *et passim.*

***Bhadraṃkara**; **Tib.** Bzang po byung ba; 23I.

Bhadrakalpa; **Tib.** *bskal pa bzang po*; 13Kv23.

Bhadrapāla; **Tib.** Bzang skyong; 1B *et passim.*

bhāva-saṃjñā (or: ***vastu-saṃjñā***?); apperception of existing things, existents, entities; **Tib.** *dngos po'i/por 'du shes*; 1S; 2H; 3H; 5Ev4; 9C; 15N; 18Kv14, 16; 25Fv15(T).

bhikṣu; **Tib.** *dge slong*; 1A *et passim.*

bhikṣuṇī; **Tib.** *dge slong ma*; 1D *et passim.*

bhūta-koṭi; perfect truth; **Tib.** *yang dag pa'i mtha'*; 1U; 2J.

Magadha; 1H(416); 3D(416).

Manasvin; **Tib.** Gzi can; 1I.

manyanā, etc.; conceit and/or

misconception; **Tib.** *rlom sems*; 1S;2E-H;3F,N-O;6D;18E;24I,Jv13(T)

Mahākāśyapa; **Tib.** 'Od srung chen po; 2A(416); 3G; 26B; 26F(416).

mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa (dvātriṃśan-); (32) marks of the Great Man; **Tib.** *skyes bu chen po'i mtshan (sum cu rtsa gnyis)*; 3F; 8A; see also 2I; see also ***śata-puṇya-lakṣaṇa***.

mahāpuruṣa-vitarka (aṣṭa-); eight reflections of the Great Man; **Tib.** *skyes bu chen po'i rnam par rtog pa brgyad*; 2G.

Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī; **Tib.** Skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo; 1D; 16B; 16C(T).

Mahāmaudgalyāyana; **Tib.** Mo'u 'gal (*variant*: Maud gal) gyi bu; 1C; 26B(C); 26F(C).

mahāyāna; Mahāyāna; **Tib.** *theg pa chen po*; 1U; 1V(T); 1X(C); 8J(418); 24A(416); 26D9416); see also next.

mahāyāna-saṃprasthita; set out in the Mahāyāna; **Tib.** *theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa*; 10A-B; 12A-B.

mahārāja (catur-); the (Four) Great Kings; **Tib.** *rgyal po chen po (bzhi)*; 1H; 14E-G; 16E.

mahāvīra; the Great Hero; **Tib.** *dpa' bo chen po*; 6Jv10.

mahāsattva; **Tib.** *sems dpa' chen po*; 1B *et passim*.

mahāsaṃnāha-saṃnaddha; armed with the great armour; **Tib.** *go cha chen po bgos pa*; 1X; 24F(T).

Mahāsusārthavāha; **Tib.** Ded dpon che bzang; (1G) Ded dpon chen po; (14A) Ded dpon bzang po; 1G; 13E, Kv26; 14A; 16D, H-J; 26B; 26F(418).

Maheśvara; **Tib.** Dbang phyug chen po; 1H.

mahoraga; **Tib.** *lto 'phye chen po*; 1I; 14E-H, Jv9.

Māra; **Tib.** Bdud; 1P, R; 10B, Cv3; 14Jv13; 20A-J; 21A-D(T); 23W(C); 23Xv5.

māra-karman; deeds of Māra; **Tib.** Bdud *kyi las*; 2J.

maitrī; friendliness; **Tib.** *byams pa*; 1L; 1Q; 4Ev11; 6D(T); 14C; 18A; 18Kv11(T); 24Jv15(T); see also next.

maitrī--karuṇā; friendliness--compassion; **Tib.** *byams pa--snying rje*; 4Ev10(see also *upekṣā*); 6G; 15H; see also next.

maitrī--karuṇā--muditā--upekṣā; friendliness--compassion--sympathetic joy--disinterestedness; **Tib.** *byams pa--snying rje--dga' ba--btang snyoms*; 1L(416); 2E; 9H; 16O; 16V(418: 4th verse); see also ***apramāṇa-citta***.

Maitreya; **Tib.** Byams pa; 13Kv20,

22(C); 23J.

yakṣa; **Tib.** *gnod sbyin*; 1I; 14D-H, Jv4, 6, 10; 17B(T).

yojana; Tib. *dpag tshad*; 23E, I, P-R, Vv13.

***Ratna**; **Tib.** Rin chen (mchog); 23L, Vv4.

Ratnākara; **Tib.** Rin chen 'byung gnas (1E: Dkon mchog 'byung gnas); 1E; 13C, Kv26; 14A; 16C-D, E(T), H-J; 26B, F(416).

***Raśmirāja**; **Tib.** 'Od zer gyi rgyal po; 15E (see also 18G).

rākṣasa; **Tib.** *srin po*; 14D, Jv4.

Rājagṛha; **Tib.** Rgyal po'i khab; 1A, B, C(T), D, E-F(T), G-H; 3D; 16C-F.

rūpa--vedanā--saṃjñā--saṃskāra--vijñāna; form--feelings--apperception--predispositions--consciousness; **Tib.** *gzugs--tshor ba--'du shes--'du byed--rnam par shes pa*; 3F; 8D, I; 9C; see also ***skandha***.

rūpa-saṃjñā; apperception of form; **Tib.** *gzugs kyi 'du shes*; 2E; 18Kv17 (see *bhāva-saṃjñā*).

lakṣaṇa; mark; **Tib.** *mtshan*; 2I (*sangs rgyas kyi sku'i mtshan*); 4Ev8; 8A; 18Kv6(T), 10; see also ***alakṣaṇa***, ***śata-puṇya-lakṣaṇa***.

Licchavi; **Tib.** Li tsa bī (*variant*: Li tsa byi); 1E; 13C; 14A; 16C-E, H-I; 26B.

loka-nātha; Lord of the World; **Tib.** *'jig rten mgon po*; 5Ev2, 6; 6Jv1, 10.

vajra; **Tib.** *rdo rje*; 1O; 2A; 18Kv11(T).

Varuṇa; 23W(C), Xv2(C).

Varuṇadeva; **Tib.** Chu lha; 1G; 13E; 14A; 16D, H-I(T), J; 26B; 26F(416).

vastu-saṃjñā (?); see ***bhāva-saṃjñā***.

Vārāṇasī; **Tib.** Bā rā ṇa sī; 1F.

***Vidyuddeva**; **Tib.** Glog gi lha; 15D.

vinaya; Vinaya; 13Lv1(416).

vinipāta; perdition; **Tib.** *log (par) ltung (ba)*; 7Gv10; 13Kv18; 14Jv8(T).

vipaśyanā; insight; **Tib.** *lhag mthong*; 1M; see also next.

vipaśyanā-bala *(?)*; power of insight; **Tib.** *rnam par lta ba'i stobs*; 1N.

vibhāvanā; meditational deconstruction *or* meditational cultivation; **Tib.** *rnam par 'jig pa/rnam par sgom pa*; 2E, G; 8Kv9; 24F(T); 25A, B(T).

vimukti-jñāna-darśana; cognition and vision of emancipation; **Tib.** *rnam par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba/gzigs pa*; 18B; 22A;

22Bv7(T); see also ***śīla--samādhi***, etc.

vimokṣa (aṣṭa-); the (eight) emancipations; **Tib.** *rnam par thar pa/grol ba (brgyad)*; 1A; 2G(T); 20G; 20Kv9(T); 24Jv17(T); 26C(T).

vimokṣāyatana (pañca-); the five stages of emancipation; **Tib.** *rnam par grol ba'i skye mched lnga*; 2G.

Viśeṣagāmin; **Tib.** Khyad par du 'gro ba; 23K-L.

vihāra; vihāra; **Tib.** *gtsug lag khang*; 11C, Dv2; 13Lv6(416 =11Dv2).

vīrya; vigour; **Tib.** *brtson 'grus*; 1L, 2D *et passim*; see also next.

vīrya-pāramitā; perfection of vigour; **Tib.** *brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*; 5D; 16V(418: 3rd verse).

Veṇuvana; Bamboo Wood; **Tib.** Smig (*variant*: Smyig) ma'i tshal; 1A, B(416), C-H, I(416); 16C-D(T).

vetāla; **Tib.** *ro langs*; 14D(T).

vaiḍūrya; beryl; **Tib.** *bai ḍū rya*; 3H, I; 6F(T); 16G; 18G(418).

Vaidehīputra; 1H(416).

vaipulya; expanded texts; **Tib.** *shin tu rgyas pa*; 13Kv15, 16(418); 24A(T).

vaiśāradya; assurances; **Tib.** *mi 'jigs pa*; 1U; 15I(T); 21A-E(T); 22Bv12(T); 25E(T).

Vaiśālī; **Tib.** Yangs pa (can); 1E; 3D.

Śakra (*devānām indra*); Śakra, Lord of the *devas*; **Tib.** *(lha rnams kyi dbang po)* Brgya byin; 1H; 14E-H; 16E; 18G; see also 18Kv5.

śata-puṇya-lakṣaṇa; hundred-merit marks; **Tib.** *bsod nams brgya pa'i mtshan*; 4Ev4; 13Kv17; see also ***mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa***.

śamatha; quietude; **Tib.** *zhi gnas*; 1M; 15N; see also next.

śamatha-bala; power of quietude; Tib. *zhi gnas kyi stobs*; 1N.

śarīra; relics; **Tib.** *sku gdung*; 13Kv8; see also ***dhātu***.

Śākyamuni; **Tib.** *Śā kya thub pa;* 17A.

Śāriputra / Śāradvatīputra; **Tib.** Śā ra dva ti'i bu; 1C(T); 23E.

śāstṛ-saṃjñā; apperception of the Teacher; **Tib.** *ston pa'i 'du shes*; 2J; 4Ev11; 5A; 9D-E, Mv2; 19B, Dv6; 23S.

śikṣāpada (pañca-); (five) rules of training; **Tib.** *bslab pa'i gzhi (lnga)*; 1B; 9B(T?); 11B, Dv2; 12B, Cv1; 13Lv6(416).

śīla; morality, the precepts; **Tib.** *tshul khrims*; 1R *et passim*; see

also next.

śīla-pāramitā; perfection of morality; **Tib.** *tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*; 5D; 15N(416); 16V(418, v.3).

śīla--samādhi--prajñā; morality--*samādhi*--wisdom; **Tib.** *tshul khrims--ting nge 'dzin--shes rab*; 6H; see also next.

śīla--samādhi--prajñā--vimukti--vimukti-jñāna-darśana; morality--*samādhi*--wisdom--emancipation--cognition and vision of emancipation; **Tib.** *tshul khrims--ting nge 'dzin--shes rab--rnam par grol ba--rnam par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba*; 5D; 8A, D, I.

śīla-skandha; constituent of morality; **Tib.** *tshul khrims kyi phung po*; 2F; 3B; 18Kv21(T).

śuddhāvāsakāyika-deva-putra; *devaputras* of the Realm of the Pure Abodes; **Tib.** *gnas gtsang ma'i ris kyi lha'i bu*; 1H.

śūnyatā; emptiness; **Tib.** *stong pa nyid*; 2D; 3N(C), Ov4; 4Ev1; 5Ev5; 6D, H(T); 15N; 18Kv3, 4; 19A; 24Jv13(T); 25Fv13(T); see also next.

śūnyatā--animitta--apraṇihita; emptiness--signlessness--wishlessness; **Tib.** *stong pa nyid--mtshan ma med pa--smon pa med pa*; 1M; 9B; 18A(T), Kv4(418?); 19Dv2 (first two terms only); 24B.

śūnyatā-samādhi; *samādhi* of emptiness; **Tib.** *stong pa nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin*; 3F.

śramaṇa; **Tib.** *dge sbyong*; 16Q(416); 20A-J; 21A-D(T); see also ***pravrajita***, ***abhiniṣkramaṇa***.

śrāvaka; **Tib.** *nyan thos*; 1R; 3F; 15K; 18E; 18F(T); 23J; see also next.

śrāvaka-yānika; adherent of the Śrāvakayāna; **Tib.** *nyan thos kyi theg pa pa*; 9E-F; 15N.

Śrāvastī; **Tib.** Mnyan yod; 1C, G.

Śrībhadra; **Tib.** Dpal bzang; 1H(T).

śruta, ***śruti***; learned, learning; **Tib.** *thos pa*; 1K, O; 2G; 4Ev9; 6H; 7Gv11, 17; 15F, H; 19C; see also ***bahu-śruta***.

saṃvṛti; convention(al truth); **Tib.** *kun rdzob*; 8F, G; 18Kv3.

saṃsāra; transmigration; **Tib.** *'khor ba*; 2H; 8F, I; 19C.

saṃskāra; conditioned things; **Tib.** *'du byed*; 16M; 19C(416); see also ***rūpa***, etc.

saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-dharma; conditioned and unconditioned dharmas; **Tib.** *'dus byas dang 'du ma byas kyi chos*; 18F; see also 18Kv22(T).

sakṛdāgāmin; the Once-returning;

skandha (pañca-); the (five) aggregates; **Tib.** *phung po (lnga)*; 2E, G(T), H; 3F(416); 16M(416); 18D; see also ***rūpa***, etc.

skandha-saṃjñā; apperception of the aggregates; **Tib.** *phung por 'du shes*; 2E(419), H.

stūpa; **Tib.** *mchod rten*; 13Kv9; 18Kv2.

smṛti; mindfulness; **Tib.** *dran pa*; 1L; 2D, E; 3B; 5Ev7; 8Kv12(T); 9D, J; 22A; 23Vv7(T); 24Jv4, 5(T); 25Fv5(T); see also next.

smṛti-saṃbodhyaṅga; awakening-factor of mindfulness; **Tib.** *dran pa yang dag byang chub kyi yan lag*; 15M; see also next.

smṛtyupasthāna (catur-); (four) applications of mindfulness; **Tib.** *dran pa nye bar gzhag pa (bzhi)*; 15J; 18C(416); see also 18B, ***kāya--vedanā***, etc.

srota-āpatti; Stream-entering; **Tib.** *rgyun du zhugs pa*; 8F(T); 26E(418).

hetu; cause; **Tib.** *rgyu*; 15L; 18D(-*dṛṣṭi*); 20B(T); 24B(T).

hetu-bala; power of causes (?); **Tib.** *rgyu'i stobs*; 1N.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I. ABBREVIATIONS

A	*Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (Pali Text Society Edition).
Aṣṭa	Vaidya, P.L., ed., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Darbhanga: 1960.
BD	Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典, Tokyo: 1931-36.
BGD	Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辞典, 3 vols., Tokyo: 1975.
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	Edgerton, F., *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary,* New Haven: 1953 [Reprinted Delhi: 1970, 1972].
BHSG	Edgerton, F., *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar,* New Haven: 1953 [Reprinted Delhi: 1970, 1972].
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
BZSMJ	*Banzhou sanmei jing* (T.418, T.417).
D	Derge (Sde dge) Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.
Das	Das, Sarat Chandra, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, reprint ed., Delhi: 1976.
Dbh	Rahder, J., ed. *Daśabhūmika*, Paris/Louvain: 1926.
Dharmas	Müller, M., ed., *Dharmasaṃgraha*, Oxford: 1885.
DPPN	Malalasekera, G.P., *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 vols., London: 1937-38 [Reprinted 1960, 1974].
DXJ	*Daoxing jing* or *Daoxing banruo jing* (T.224).
DZDL	*Dazhidu lun* (T.1509).
ERE	Hastings, J., ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols., Edinburgh: 1908-1921.
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究.
JIABS	*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.*
Jōdo sanbukyō	*Bon-zō-wa-ei gappeki jōdo sanbukyō* 梵藏和英合壁淨土三部教, reprint ed., Tokyo: 1972.
K	Korean Edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka.*
KP	von Staël-Holstein, A., ed., *The Kāçyapaparivarta*, Shangai: 1926.
L	Lhasa (Lha sa) Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.
LA	Vaidya, P.L., ed., *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Darbhanga: 1963.

M	*Majjhima-Nikāya* (PTS Edition).
Mv	Senart, E., ed., *Mahāvastu*, 3 vols., Paris: 1882-97.
Mvy	Sakaki Ryōzaburō 榊亮三郎, ed., *Mahāvyutpatti*, 2 vols., Kyoto: 1916-25.
MW	Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford: 1899.
N	Narthang (Snar thang) Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.
P	Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur (Suzuki Daisetz T., ed., *The Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka*, Tokyo-Kyoto: 1955-61).
PraS	*Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra.*
PTSD	Rhys Davids, T.W. & W. Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London: 1921-25.
R	Stog Palace Manuscript Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur, reprinted as *The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur*, 109 vols., Leh: 1975-80.
S	*Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (Pali Text Society Edition).
Śgs	*Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra.*
Skt.	Sanskrit.
SP	Vaidya, P.L., ed., *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, Darbhanga: 1960.
SR	Vaidya, P.L., ed., *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, Darbhanga, 1961.
ŚsP	Ghosh, P., ed., *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Calcutta: 1902-10.
Sukh	Ashikaga Atsuuji 足利惇氏, ed., *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, Kyoto, 1965.
SYM	'Three Editions' i.e. the printed editions of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* of the Song, Yuan & Ming Dynasties.
SZPPSL	*Shizhu piposha lun* (T.1521).
T./*Taishō*	Takakusu Junjirō & Watanabe Kaikyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, 100 vols., Tokyo: 1924-34.
Text	Harrison, P., ed., *The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series I)*, Tokyo: 1978.
Tib.	Tibetan.
TMCM	Zhang Yisun *et al.*, eds., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo / Zang-Han Dacidian*, 3 vols., Peking: 1985.
Traité	Lamotte, E., *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, 5 vols., Louvain: 1944-80 [Vols. 1 & 2 reprinted 1966 & 1967].
TSD	Chandra, Lokesh, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Delhi: 1961.
VKN	*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa(-sūtra).*
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft.*

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